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REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

CONNECTED WITH THE

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GREAT UNION MEETING,

HELD AT THE

Academy of Music,

NEW YORK,

DECEMBER 19TH, 1859.

NEW YORK:
DAVIES & ROBERTS, PRINTERS,
113 NASSAU STREET.
1859.

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THE NORTH AND THE SOUTH.

JUSTICE AND FRATERNITY.

The undersigned, regarding with just abhorrence the crimes of John Brown and his confederates, desire to unite with our fellow-citizens of New York and vicinity in a public and formal denunciation of that and all similar outrages, and to declare our unalterable purpose to stand by the Constitution *in all its parts*, as interpreted by the Supreme Court of the United States; and we hereby denounce as unpatriotic and untrue, revolutionary and dangerous, the idea of an irrepressible conflict existing between the two great sections of our beloved Union. On the contrary, we maintain that the North and South were created for each other; that there is a natural and necessary affinity between them, by parentage, history, religion, language, and geographical position; and that even their different climates, and different forms of industry, add strength to this bond of union, by enabling them to supply each other's wants. And we hereby solemnly pledge ourselves, from this

hour, by our influence, our example, our votes, and by every other proper means, to discountenance and oppose SECTIONALISM in all its forms. Those of our fellow-citizens who share these sentiments with us, are requested to join us in a public expression of the same, at such time and place as shall be designated by this Committee.

In compliance with the above request, which has received the signatures of nearly twenty thousand persons, a Public Meeting will be held on Monday evening, December 19th, at the Academy of Music, Fourteenth Street, at seven o'clock.

His Honor DANIEL F. TIEMANN, Mayor of the City, will preside.

Committee.

JAMES W. BEEKMAN,	WM. H. APPLETON,
GERARD HALLOCK,	JAMES T. SOUTTER,
JOSHUA J. HENRY,	JOHN J. ASTOR, JR.,
E. E. MORGAN,	MATTHEW MORGAN,
HENRY GRINNELL,	S. L. M. BARLOW,
WATTS SHERMAN,	WILSON G. HUNT,
B. M. WHITLOCK,	JAMES BROOKS,

ALEX. T. STEWART.

NEW YORK, *December 13th*, 1859.

New York, 20*th December*, 1859.

The undersigned, being desirous of circulating, as widely as possible, both at the North and at the South, the proceedings of the Union Meeting held at the Academy of Music, last evening, intend publishing, in pamphlet form, for distribution, a correct copy of the same.

Will you be so kind as to inform us whether this step meets your approval; and, if so, furnish us with a corrected report of the speech delivered by you on that occasion.

Yours respectfully,

LEITCH, BURNET & CO.,
GEO. W. & JEHIAL READ,
BRUFF, BROTHER & SEAVER,
C. B. HATCH & CO.,
DAVIS, NOBLE & CO.,
(FORMERLY FURMAN, DAVIS & CO.),
WESSON & COX,
CRONIN, HURXTHAL & SEARS,
ATWATER, MULFORD & Co.

New York, *Dec.* 20, 1859.

Gentlemen—The measure you propose meets my entire approval.

I have long thought that our disputes concerning negro slavery would soon terminate if the public mind could be drawn to the true issue, and steadily fixed upon it. To effect this object was the sole aim of my address.

Though its ministers can never permit the law of the land to be questioned by private judgment, there is, nevertheless, such a thing as natural justice. Natural justice has the Divine sanction; and it is impossible that any human law which conflicts with it should long endure.

Where mental enlightenment abounds, where morality is professed by all, where the mind is free, speech is free, and the press is free, is it possible, in the nature of things, that a law which is *admitted* to conflict with natural justice, and with God's own mandate, should long endure?

Yet all will admit that, within certain limits, at least, our Constitution does contain positive guaranties for the preservation of negro slavery in the old States through all time, unless the local legislatures shall think fit to abolish it. And, consequently, if negro slavery, however humanely administered or judiciously regulated, be an institution which conflicts with natural justice and with God's law, surely the most vehement and extreme admirers of John Brown's sentiments are right; and their denunciations against the Constitution, and against the most hallowed names connected with it, are perfectly justifiable.

The friends of truth—the patriotic Americans who would sustain their country's honor against foreign rivalry, and defend their country's interests against all assailants, err greatly when they contend with these men on any point but one. Their general principles can not be refuted; their logic is irresistible; the error, if any there be, is in their premises. They assert that negro slavery is unjust. This, and this alone, of all they say, is capable of being fairly argued against.

If this proposition can not be refuted, our Union can not endure, and it ought not to endure.

Our negro bondmen can neither be exterminated nor transported to Africa. They are too numerous for either process, and either, if practicable, would involve a violation of humanity. If they were emancipated, they would relapse into barbarism, or a set of negro States would arise in our midst possessing political equality, and entitled to social equality. The division of parties would soon make the negro members a powerful body in Congress —would place some of them in high political stations, and occasionally let one into the Executive chair.

It is vain to say that this could be endured; it is simply impossible.

What, then, remains to be discussed?

The negro race is upon us. With a Constitution which holds them in bondage, our federal Union might be preserved; but if so holding them in bondage be a thing forbidden by God and Nature, we can not lawfully so hold them, and the Union must perish.

This is the inevitable result of that conflict which has now reached its climax.

Amongst us at the North, the sole question for reflection, study, and friendly interchange of thought, should be—is negro slavery unjust? The rational and dispassionate inquirer will find no difficulty in arriving at my conclusion. It is fit and proper; it is, in its own nature, as an institution, beneficial to both races; and the effect of this assertion is not diminished by our admitting that many faults are practiced under it. Is not such the fact in respect to all human laws and institutions? I am, gentlemen, with great respect, yours truly, CHARLES O'CONOR.

To Messrs. Leitch, Burnet & Co.; George W. & Jehial Read; Bruff, Brother & Seaver: C. B. Hatch & Co.; Davis, Noble & Co.; Wesson & Cox, Cronin, Hurxthal & Sears; Atwater, Mulford & Co.

New York, 21*st December*, 1859.

Gentlemen—I have received your favor of yesterday. Fully appreciating your anxiety to disseminate widely the proceedings of the Union Meeting at the Academy of Music, it will afford me great pleasure to furnish you with a correct copy of my speech. I will do so as soon as I can compare the reports in the principal morning papers of yesterday.

I am respectfully yours, JOHN A. DIX.

Messrs. Leitch, Burnet & Co., and others.

Clarendon Hotel, New York, *Dec.* 22, 1859.

Gentlemen—In compliance with your wishes, I now inclose a copy of my speech, delivered in the Union Meeting at the Academy of Music, as reported for the New York *Express*, having rectified such slight typographical errors as seem to require correction.

Hoping that the emphatic expression of the National and Conservative feeling of this city may exert a salutary influence upon the public mind in all parts of the Union, I remain, gentlemen,

Very respectfully and truly yours,

WASHINGTON HUNT.

Messrs. Leitch, Burnet & Co., Geo. W. and Jehial Read, and others.

New York, *December* 21, 1859.

Gentlemen—In reply to your letter, I answer that the *Express*, *Herald*, and *Journal of Commerce* of yesterday each contains a correct and accurate report of my speech at the Union Meeting on Monday last.

Very respectfully yours,

JAMES S. THAYER.

Messrs. Leitch, Burnet & Co., and others.

Office of the New York Express, 13 and 15 Park Row,
December 21, 1859.

Gentlemen—Herewith is inclosed a correct copy of my few remarks.

Yours respectfully,

JAMES BROOKS.

Leitch, Burnet & Co., and others.

THE MEETING.

The Meeting thus called, was held on Monday evening, 19th December, and resulted in the largest and most enthusiastic assemblage ever congregated upon this continent.

Shortly after seven o'clock—the house being then filled to its utmost capacity—James W. Beekman, Esq., Chairman of the Executive Committee, stepped forward, amid applause, and said:

Fellow-Citizens—We are assembled to-night in obedience to a call which I will now read. He then read the call, which was received with tremendous cheering.

Mr. Beekman then nominated Mayor Tiemann as Chairman of the Meeting. The nomination was confirmed with unanimous applause.

Mayor Tiemann came forward amid a storm of plaudits, and addressed the vast assemblage as follows:

SPEECH OF THE MAYOR.

Gentlemen—I thank you for the honor you have conferred upon me in calling me to preside over this great meeting of the citizens of New York, to express their devotion to the Union, and their firm adherence to the principles and compromises of the Constitution under which all sections of our country have so happily prospered since its adoption. New York has ever been a Union-loving city; she has ever stood by it, and I believe she would sacrifice any interest to perpetuate

that glorious bond which has for so long a period joined together the different States of our confederacy. As a New Yorker, I am proud of this. I am proud of the Union, and should deplore the event as a calamity to the world which should be the means of dissevering it; as an American, I know no North—no South—no East—no West, when the Union is in danger. I believe in carrying out all the compromises of the Constitution, and of dealing justly with every section of our country.

The South, as well as the North, the West, as well as the East, have their rights; and we should be as ready to yield to our brethren of those sections of our country in matters of right and interest, as we are to claim such for ourselves.

The cry of disunion, come from whatever quarter it may, is to be deplored by every true friend of this country; and I believe is never raised except by political demagogues or selfish politicians. I am as much an American of the South as I am of the North, and every American who has the good of his country and the perpetuity of the Union at heart, should feel with Andrew Jackson, when he said, "The Union must and shall be preserved."

The following prayer was then offered by the Rev. Dr. VERMILYE:

Almighty, ever-living, and ever-blessed God, we adore Thee as the author of life, and of all the bounties we enjoy. Thou art acquainted with all our ways. We adore Thee for the arrangement of Thy providence, by which Thou hast constituted civil society in this world. We bless Thee, O God, for all the kindness Thou hast manifested toward us as a people, in this respect, in the days that are past. O God, we have heard with our ears, our fathers have told us what Thou didst in their days, in times of old; how Thou didst drive out the heathen that offended Thee. We bless Thee that throughout the whole course of our history in this land, Thy kind providence has been conspicuous, constantly leading our people from day to day, from year to year; surrounding us with the bounties of Thy providence, in the riches of the earth; giving to us institutions that are calculated to develop this land, and bring forth a people who shall stand before all the nations of the earth free, enjoying constitutional liberty, worshiping God according to the dictates of their own consciences, and in communion one with another, coming forward to higher and higher degrees of civilization. We thank Thee, O God, that Thou hast shown Thy favor to this people, and we look to Thee for the time to come that these same blessings may rest upon us. Oh, wilt

Thou grant that at present (A Voice, "Louder"—smothered laughter), while commotion and agitation are found in the minds of the people in various sections of the land, that Thy kind care may still be over us—that care which Thou didst manifest toward our fathers in the darkest hours of Revolutionary trial, while the Constitution was about being formed, and through all the periods in their past history. We humbly beseech Thee, gracious God, to rebuke any spirit of discord, of violence, of strife, in any portion of our land. Grant, we pray Thee, O God, that all fanaticism North or South, East or West, may subside, and that this people may too highly prize the blessings of civil and religious liberty with which God has blessed them, to jeopard them at any moment, or for any vain, idle, or unattainable good. We pray that we may go forth from year to year in the accomplishment of the great purposes of Thy providence, so that the world may be blessed by the example of a people walking in the enjoyment of free institutions, and honoring God in their religious services. We pray, great God, that thou wouldst mercifully look upon the Southern section of this country, and bless our Southern brethren in the midst of the trials to which they are exposed. God grant that His care may be about them, and may the feeling of brotherly accord arise again between the different portions of the Union, and become stronger and stronger than ever it has been in the days that are past. We beseech Thee, great God, to bless those who are in authority over us, in the highest and in the lowest stations, both in the general and in the State governments. Bless Thy servant the President of these United States, and his Cabinet, and grant them wisdom from above to direct them in all the responsible duties that devolve upon them. Bless the Congress at this time assembled, we pray thee, and do Thou grant, O God, that passion may be subdued, and all agitation may subside, and under the feeling that we may confide as brethren, one in another, may they go on to the accomplishment of the services for which they have been appointed. We pray Thee, infinitely holy and sovereign God, that the shelter of Thy protection may still be over this nation; that every one in authority, in the highest and lowest stations, may be taught of God and upheld by him; that the people may all realize the responsibility which rests upon them to preserve the institutions which have come down to us from our fathers—institutions such as bless no other nation on the face of the globe: and so may we go on to hand down to coming generations these same blessings, that for all time to come the people of this continent and of this nation may be free and happy, prosperous in the enjoyment of civil liberty—prosperous and blessed in the enjoyment of their religious liberties. The Lord preside in the meeting this evening. Grant that they who are to speak may be directed from above, and that the whole tendency and result of this meeting may be such as to satisfy the minds of the people North and South, throughout the whole extent of our land, that we are determined, God helping, to maintain the unity that subsists among us; God helping, to preserve these institutions for coming time. Hear and accept, oh, thou infinite God! bless this people as Thou hast blessed them in time past, and unto the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, one God, we will render praise for ever and evermore. Amen.

A list was then submitted of 232 Vice-Presidents, and 27 Secretaries, among whom were the following:

WM. H. ASPINWALL,	OSCAR CHEESEMAN,	F. S. LATHROP,
WM. B. ASTOR,	TOWNSEND COX,	CHAS. O'CONOR,
JAMES W. BEEKMAN,	JOHN A. DIX,	GEO. W. READ,
AUGUSTE BELMONT,	HENRY GRINNELL,	A. T. STEWART,
H. O. BREWER,	C. B. HATCH,	JAMES S. THAYER,
JOHN H. BROWER,	J. J. HENRY,	JOHN VAN BUREN,
JAMES BROOKS,	LUCIUS S. HOPKINS,	B. M. WHITLOCK,
RICHARD B. BRUFF,	WILSON G. HUNT,	

who were all chosen with unanimous applause.

Mr. J. J. Henry then announced the receipt of letters from the following distinguished gentlemen: Ex.-Pres. Van Buren, Ex.-Pres. Fillmore, Ex.-Pres. Pierce, Hon. Dan. S. Dickinson, Hon. George Briggs, Hon. D. D. Barnard, and Lieut.-Gen. Winfield Scott.

Mr. James Brooks was introduced, and said: Mr. Mayor and gentlemen, I am authorized by the Committee of Arrangements to report the following resolutions:

Preamble and Resolutions adopted at the Union Meeting at the New York Academy of Music, December 19, 1859.

PREAMBLE.

Whereas, The People of the United States, "in order to form a more perfect Union, establish Justice, insure Domestic Tranquillity," etc., etc., as set forth in the Preamble of the Constitution for the United States, have ordained a Government of non-slaveholding and of slaveholding States: and, *whereas*, the Government is a Government of compromises and concessions—

1st. In the clause of the Constitution (Art. 1, Sec. 2) recognizing slaves as persons to be represented by their masters, and as property to be taxed upon these masters;

2d. In the clause (Art. 1, Sec. 8), that Congress shall have power to suppress insurrections;

3d. (Art. 1, Sec. 9.) In prohibiting Congress to suppress the Slave Trade prior to 1808, and in giving Congress the power to impose a tax or duty upon each slave imported before that time, not exceeding ten dollars for each slave;

4th. In the clause (Art. 4, Sec. 2), to deliver up, on claim of the party to

whom slave service may be due, the person or slave held to such service or labor;

5th. In the clause (Art. 4, Sec. 4), upon the application of any Legislature or Executive of a State, to protect said State against domestic violence;

And Whereas, The Federal Government has, from its origin, been administered by the Executive, by Congress, and by the Supreme Court of the United States, not only in the letter, but in the spirit of these compacts—

1st. Before and after the old Confederation, in the division of the then unsettled Territories, by declaring all North of the Ohio to be non-slaveholding, and all South of the Ohio to be slaveholding.

2d. In the Ordinance, July 13, 1787, making free the territory now Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, and Michigan, but providing therein, also, for the surrender of fugitive slaves.

3d. In the acts, President Washington approving, admitting into the Union the Territory of Kentucky, slaveholding, then the property of Virginia; and afterward the Territory of Frankland, slaveholding, now Tennessee, then the property of North Carolina.

4th. In the Ordinance, April 7, 1798, John Adams approving, organizing the Mississippi Territory, then belonging to Georgia, now Alabama and Mississippi, in which was especially excepted therefrom the anti-Slavery cause of the Northwestern Territory, in these words:

"EXCEPTING and EXCLUDING the last article of the Ordinance of 1787."

5th. In the Fugitive Slave Law of 1793, George Washington approving, which passed the Senate unanimously, and the House, ayes 48, noes 7.

6th. In the purchase of Louisiana (President Jefferson approving), all that vast region West of the Mississippi, stretching to the Pacific Ocean, and to the British Possessions; all of which was under the laws of Spain or France, slaveholding, and larger in extent at that time than the whole United States.

7th. In the Treaty of 1783 (9th article), providing against the deportation of slaves, with the official correspondence of Washington, Randolph, Governeur Morris, and John Jay thereon.

8th. In the Judiciary Act, 1789 (34th section), adopting the constitutional laws of the several States which recognize slaves as property as well as persons.

9th. In the act enumerating slaves for the purpose of direct taxation, especially the act of 1813, James Madison approving, which assessed taxes upon the *land, dwelling-houses, and slaves*, at the value each of them was worth in money.

10th. In the Treaty of Ghent (1814), under which, from Great Britain, our Government received $1,200,000, and paid it over to the owners of deported slaves.

11th. In the purchase of Florida, in 1819, a slaveholding Territory, from Spain.

12th. In the decision by the Supreme Court of the United States, of the constitutionality of the act of 1793, in Priggs' case, and of the like act of 1850, in every case, before any of the high courts, Federal or State, unless in one State Court in Wisconsin—and in divers other decisions upon Laws, Ordinances, and Treaties.

RESOLUTIONS.

Therefore, Be it Resolved, That the Union thus formed, constituting, as it does, the closest, most delicate, and important relation that can exist between communities of people, demands from each part a warm and earnest consideration for the safety, prosperity, and happiness of the other; and that whatever policy tends to subvert these ends, is hostile to the true spirit of the compact.

That the Constitution, the Treaties, the Laws of the United States, and the judicial decisions thereupon, recognize the institution of slavery, as legally existing; and that it is our duty, as good citizens of a common government, in good faith to stand by that Constitution, those Treaties, those Laws, and the decisions of that final arbiter of all disputed points, the Supreme Court of the United States.

That inasmuch as the proceedings of the Convention which framed the Constitution were brought to a stand, as appears by the declaration of Roger Sherman, one of its most distinguished authors, until a compromise was agreed to, on the various propositions relating to Domestic Slavery, which compromise embraced—

A restriction on the power to prevent the importation of slaves prior to 1808.

A provision binding on each State, and upon the Union, to surrender fugitives from service.

A representation in Congress, founded in part on three fifths of the slave population.

And a guarantee to protect each State against domestic insurrection.

Thus providing, under the Constitution, for the introduction of slaves for a limited period, and for the protection of the system. Therefore

It is the duty of every citizen and State sharing in the great blessings of that instrument, faithfully to fulfill these obligations.

That we protest against and denounce, as contrary to the

plighted faith on which the Constitution was established, all acts, or inflammatory appeals, which intend, or tend, to make this Union less perfect, or to jeopard or disturb its Domestic Tranquillity, or to mar the spirit of harmony, compromise, and concession upon which the Union was formed by our Fathers, whose records we have cited, and whose legacies we have, in these compacts, laws, and adjudications.

That we regard the recent outrage at Harper's Ferry as a crime, not only against the State of Virginia, but against the Union itself; and we approve of the firmness by which the treason has been duly punished.

That, in our opinion, the subject of slavery has been too long mingled with party politics, and as the result has been the creation of sectional parties, contrary to the advice, letter, and spirit of the Farewell Address of the Father of our common country—that, therefore, it is the duty of Planters, Farmers, Manufacturers, Merchants, Mechanics, and of every Citizen, North and South, East and West, to discountenance all parties and organizations that thus violate the spirit of the Constitution and the advice of Washington.

The Resolutions were unanimously adopted.

REMARKS OF MR. BROOKS.

And now, Mr. Mayor and gentlemen, the duty devolved upon me as the organ of the Committee of Arrangements is executed, but I have some few words to add upon my own responsibility. There are those who tell us—and they are many—"All this is well, very well; but there is a law higher than the Constitution, and in conflict with that Constitution, which conscience forbids us to obey." Such are the men who have broken up our missionary stations, thrown the apple of discord into tract societies, and rent the Church of God in twain. If they are right, Constitutions, Compacts, Laws, all are wrong.

This is not the place, this is not the hour, for theology; but a word or two are necessary, in my judgment, to make the argument complete.

When our Saviour was on earth, He was a subject of that vast slaveholding Roman Empire, which stretched from the Euphrates in the East, beyond the Pillars of Hercules in the

West, and sixty millions of slaves, it is estimated, were in that Empire. Hence, when His eyes first opened on pleasant Bethlehem, His feet trod on the shores of Galilee, or on the plain of Jericho, to be baptized in the Jordan, slaves must have ministered, if not unto Him and His disciples, unto all about Him. And when, on the Mount of Olives, His foot was last printed upon that rock which tradition or superstition now shows, as ascending into heaven, His eyes, as they overlooked the great city of Jerusalem, and glanced from the mountains of Moab to the vale of Sharon, must have rested upon thousands and tens of thousands of slaves. Judea, where he was born—Galilee, where He lived—Egypt, that He visited—each and all were slaveholding states. And Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob, the Fathers and Patriarchs, were holders of bondmen and of bondwomen. And now, if there be in the Holy Bible any such denunciations of slavery or of slaveholders as we daily hear from men calling themselves the servants of God, they are not in King James's or the Douay version of the Bible. (Great cheering.)

Far be it from me, Mr. Mayor, to speak irreverently of the ministers of God. I respect their high and holy calling. I bow down in humble reverence before their august mission. When first we open our infant eyes in our mother's arms, the man of God takes us to the baptismal font, and there consecrates us to Heaven; when, in the full flush of youth, our hearts beat with love, he ties the nuptial knot, and blesses us, with the partner of our bosom, on our voyage of life; and when that voyage is over, and, on the death-bed, wife, children, all, have given us up, and the spirit is parting from its frail tenement of clay, our eyes last rest upon him, interceding for us before the throne of Heaven. But, oh, ye Scribes and Pharisees (tremendous applause), who rail against us, publicans and sinners, who rail not as ye rail! Ye men of Sharpe's rifles and Bowie-knife pikes! Ye Beechers and ye Cheevers (fearful applause), wiser and better than our Saviour when on earth, go ye with your new version of the Bible into all the world, and shoot your gospel into every living creature. (Wild laughter, and prolonged applause.)

The Bible, then, is not in conflict with the Constitution. I move the adoption of the Resolutions. (Three cheers and a tiger.)

The President then introduced CHARLES O'CONOR, Esq., who addressed the meeting as follows:

SPEECH OF MR. CHARLES O'CONOR.

Mr. CHARLES O'CONOR was received with loud applause. He said: Fellow-Citizens, I can not express to you the delight which I experience in beholding in this great city so vast an assembly of my fellow-citizens, convened for the purpose stated in your Resolutions. (Voices—"Louder! louder!")

It may be proper to say, gentlemen, that I can not speak any louder than I do at this instant; and if it be not equal to your desires, I can only cease to employ my feeble voice. (Cries of "Go on! go on!") I am delighted, gentlemen, beyond measure, to behold at this time so vast an assembly of my fellow-citizens, responding to the call of a body so respectable as the twenty-thousand New Yorkers who have convened this meeting. If anything can give assurance to those who doubt, and confidence to those who may have had misgivings as to the permanency of our institutions, and the solidity of the support which the people of the North are prepared to give them, it is that in the Queen City of the New World—the capital of North America—there is assembled a meeting so large, so respectable, and so unanimous as this meeting has shown itself to be in receiving sentiments, which, if observed, must protect our Union from destruction, and even from danger. (Applause.)

Gentlemen, is it not a subject of astonishment that the idea of danger, and the still more dreadful idea of dissolution, should be heard from the lips of an American citizen at this day, in reference to, or in connection with, the sacred name of this most sacred Union? (Applause.) Why, gentlemen, what is our Union? What are its antecedents? What is its present condition? If we ward off the evils which threaten it, what is its future hope to us and to the great family of mankind? Why, gentlemen, it may well be said of this Union, as a Government, that as it is Time's last offspring, so is it Time's most glorious and beneficent production. (Loud applause.)

Gentlemen, we were created by an Omniscient Being; we were created by a Being not only all-seeing and all-powerful, but all-wise; and yet in the benignity and the far-seeing wisdom of His power, He permitted the great family of mankind to live on, to ad-

vance, to improve step by step, five thousand years and upwards, before He laid the foundation of a truly free, a truly happy, a truly independent empire. It was not, gentlemen, until that great length of time had elapsed, that the earth was deemed mature for laying the foundation of this mighty and prosperous State. It was then that the inspired, the noble-minded, and chivalrous Genoese set forth upon the trackless ocean, and discovered the region we now enjoy. But a few years, comparatively, elapsed, when there was raised up in this blessed land a set of men whose like had never existed upon the face of this earth—men, unequaled in their perception of the true principles of justice, in their comprehensive benevolence, in their capacity to lay, safely, justly, soundly, and with all the qualities which should insure permanency, the foundations of an empire. (Loud cheers.) It was in this country, in 1776, that was seen the first assembly of rational men, who ever proclaimed, in clear and undeniable form, the immutable principles of justice, and consecrated, I trust, to all time, in the face of tyrants, and in opposition to their power, the rights of nations and the rights of men. (Applause.) Those patriots, as soon as the storm of war had passed away, sat down and framed that instrument on which our Union rests—the Constitution of the United States of America. (Loud applause.) The question, gentlemen, now before us, is neither more or less than simply this: whether that Constitution, consecrated by the blood shed in our glorious Revolution, consecrated by the signature of the most illustrious man who ever lived—George Washington—(applause)—whether that instrument, accepted by the wisest and best of that day, and accepted in Convention, one by one, in each and every State of this Union—that instrument from which so many blessings have flown—whether that instrument was conceived in crime—is a chapter of abominations—(cries of "No, no!")—is a violation of justice—is a league between strong-handed but wicked-hearted white men, to oppress, impoverish, and plunder their fellow-creatures, contrary to rectitude, honor, and justice. (Loud applause.) That is the question, neither more nor less. We are told from pulpits—we are told upon the political rostrum—we are told in the legislative assemblies of our Northern States—not merely by single speakers, but by distinct resolutions of the whole body—we are told by gentlemen occupying seats in the Congress of the Union through the votes of Northern people, that the Constitution seeks to enshrine, to protect, to defend a

monstrous crime against justice and humanity, and that it is our duty to defeat its provisions, to outwit them if we can not otherwise get rid of their effect, and thereby to trample upon the privileges which it has declared shall be protected and insured to our brethren of the South. (Applause.) That is the doctrine now advocated, gentlemen; and I ask whether that doctrine, necessarily involving the destruction of our Union, shall be permitted to prevail as it has hitherto prevailed. (Applause.)

Gentlemen, I trust you will excuse me for deliberately coming up to and meeting this question; not seeking to captivate your fancies by a trick of words—not seeking to exalt your imaginations by declamation or any effort at eloquence—but meeting this question gravely, sedately, and soberly, and asking you what is to be our course in relation to it.

Gentlemen, the Constitution guarantees to the people of the Southern States the protection of their slave property. In that respect it is a solemn compact between the North and South. As a solemn compact, are we at liberty to violate it? (Cries of "No, no.") Are we at liberty to seek or take any mean and petty advantage of it? (Cries of "No, no, we're not!") Are we at liberty to con over its particular words, and to restrict and limit its operation, so as to acquire, under such narrow construction, a pretense of right, by hostile and adverse legislation, to interfere with the interests, wound the feelings, and trample on the political rights of our Southern fellow-citizens? ("No, no, no!" from a thousand voices.) No, gentlemen. If it be a compact, and has anything sacred in it, we are bound to observe it in good faith—honestly, honorably—not merely to the letter, but fully to the spirit, and not in any mincing, half-way, unfair, or illiberal construction, seeking to satisfy the letter, and to give as little as we can, and to defeat the spirit. (Applause.) That may be the way some men keep contracts about the sale of a house or a chattel, but it is not the way that honest men observe contracts, even in relation to the most trivial things. (Cries of "No," and applause.)

A most pernicious course has been pursued at the North, tending fatally to disturb the harmony which should exist between the North and the South, and to break down and destroy the union existing between these States.

At an early period the subject of Slavery, as a merely philosophical question, was discussed by many, and its justice or injus-

tice made the subject of argument leading to a variety of opinions. It mattered little how long this discussion should last, while confined within such limits. If it had only led to the formation of societies, like the Shakers, who do not believe in matrimony; or like the people of Utah, destined to a short career, who believe in too much of it (laughter); or like the strong-minded women of our country, who believe that women are much better qualified than men to perform the functions and offices usually performed by men (cheers and laughter), and who, probably, if they had their way, would simply change the order of proceedings, and transfer the husbands to the kitchen and themselves to the labors of the field (continued laughter); so long, I say, gentlemen, as this sentimentality touching Slavery confined itself to the formation of little parties or societies of this description, it certainly could do no harm, and we might satisfy ourselves with the maxim, that "error can do little harm as long as reason is left free to combat it." (Applause.) But, gentlemen, this sentimentality has found its way out of the meeting-houses, out of the assemblies of speculative philosophers, or societies formed to benefit the inhabitants of Borioboola-gha. (Laughter and cheers.) It has found its way into the heart of the selfish politician; it has been made the war-cry of party; it has been made an instrument whereby to elevate, not merely to personal distinction and social rank, but to political power. Throughout the non-slaveholding States of this Union men have been thus elevated who advocate a course of conduct necessarily exasperating to the South, and the natural effect of whose teachings renders the Southern people insecure in their lives and their property, making it a matter of doubt each night whether they can safely retire to their slumbers without sentries and guards to protect them against incursions from the North. I say the effect has been to elevate, on the strength of this sentiment, such men to power. And what is the result—the condition of things at this day? Why, gentlemen, the occasion that calls us together is the occurrence of an assault upon the State of Virginia by a set of misguided followers of these doctrines, with arms in their hands, bent upon rapine and murder. I call them followers; they should be deemed leaders, for they are the best, the bravest, the most virtuous of the whole Abolition Party. (Cheers, and cries of "That's so!") Arrayed on the Lord's Day, at the hour of still repose, with pikes brought from the North, they armed the bond-

man to slay his master, his master's wife, and his master's little children. (Groans.) That is the occasion that calls us together. And immediately succeeding it—at this very instant—what do we find to be the pending political question in Congress? A book, encouraging the same general course of persecution against the South that has been long pursued, has been openly recommended to circulation by sixty-eight members of your Congress. (Cries of "Shame! shame!") Recommended to circulation by sixty-eight members of your Congress, elected from the Northern States. (Renewed cries of "Shame!" and "We'll put them out!") Every one, I say, elected from non-slaveholding States. And with the assistance of certain associates, some of whom hold their offices by your votes (cries of "They shan't be there long!"), there is great danger that they will elect to the chair, where he will stand as a representative of the whole North, a man who united in causing that work to be distributed through the South, carrying poison and death in its polluted leaves. (Groans, applause, and cries of "Kick him out of Congress!")

Is it not fair to say that this great and glorious Union s menaced when such a thing is attempted? Is it reasonable to expect that our brothers of the South will calmly sit down—(cries of "No.")—will calmly sit down and submit quietly to such an outrage? Gentlemen, we greatly exceed the people of the South in numbers. The non-slaveholding States are by far the most populous. They are increasing daily in numbers and in population, and we may soon overwhelm the Southern vote. If we continue to fill the halls of legislation with Abolitionists, and permit to occupy the Executive chair public men who declare themselves to be enlisted in a crusade against Slavery, and against the provisions of the Constitution which secure slave property—what can we reasonably expect from the people of the South but that they will pronounce the Constitution, with all its glorious associations—with all its sacred memories—this Union, with its manifold present and promised blessings, an unendurable evil, threatening to crush and destroy their most vital interests—to make their country a wilderness? Why should we expect them to submit to such a line of conduct, and still recognize us as brothers, or agree to the perpetuation of this Union? (Applause.)

I do not see, for my part, anything unjust, anything unreasonable, in the declaration of Southern members. They tell us, "If

you will thus assail us with incendiary pamphlets—if you will thus create a spirit in your country which leads to violence and bloodshed among us—if you will assail the institution upon which the prosperity of our country depends—if you will elevate to office over us men who are pledged to aid in such transactions, and to oppress us by hostile legislation, much as we revere the Constitution, greatly as we estimate the blessings which would flow from its faithful enforcement, we can not longer depend on your compliance with its injunctions, or adhere to the Union." (Applause.)

For my part, gentlemen, if the North continues to conduct itself in the selection of representatives in the Congress of the United States, as, perhaps, from a certain degree of negligence and inattention, it has heretofore conducted itself, the South, I think, is not to be censured if it withdraws from the association. (Cries of "That is so," applause, and "Three cheers for the Fugitive Slave Law.")

We are not, gentlemen, to hold a meeting, and say that "we love this Union; we delight in it; we are proud of it; it blesses us, and we enjoy it; we shall fill all its offices with men of our own choosing, and, our brethren of the South, you shall enjoy its glorious past; you shall enjoy its mighty recollections, but it shall trample your institutions in the dust." We have no right to say it. We have no right to exact so much; and an opposite and entirely different course, fellow-citizens, must be ours—must be the course of the great North, if we would preserve this Union. (Applause, and cries of "Good.")

What must we sacrifice if we exasperate our brethren of the South, and compel them, by injustice and breach of compact, to separate from us and dissolve the Union? The greatness and the glory of the American name will then be a thing of yesterday. The glorious Revolution of the Thirteen States will be a revolution, not achieved by us, but by a nation that has ceased to exist. The name of Washington will, at least to us of the North—(cheers)—be but as the name of Julius Cæsar, or some other great hero who has lived in times gone by, whose nation has perished and exists no more. The Declaration of Independence—what will that be? The act of a State that no longer has a place among the nations. All the bright and glorious recollections of the past must cease to be our property, and become mere memorials of a departed race and people. Nor will these be the only consequences. Will

this mighty city, growing, as it now is, with wealth flowing into it from every portion of this great empire, continue to flourish as it has done? ("No.") Will your marble palaces, lining Broadway, and rearing their proud fronts toward the sky, continue to increase, until, as is now promised under the Union, it shall present the most glorious picture of wealth and prosperity that the world has ever seen. (Cheers.) No, gentlemen, no; such things can not be. I do not say that we will starve—that we will perish as a people if we separate from the South. If the line be drawn, I admit they will have their measure of prosperity and we will have ours—but meagre, small in the extreme, compared with what is existing and promised will be the prosperity of each, if that dire event should occur. Truly has it been said here to-night, we were made for each other. Let us separate, and though it may not destroy either, it will reduce each to so low an ebb that all good men would deplore the evil courses that brought about such a result. True, we would have left to boast of our share of the glory won by Revolutionary sires. The Northern States sent forth their bands of heroes, and shed their blood as freely as those of the South. But the dividing line would take from us the grave of Washington. (Cheers.) It is in his own beloved Virginia. It is in the State and near the spot where this treason that has been growing up in the North, so lately culminated in violence and bloodshed. We would lose the grave and lose all connection with the name of Washington; but our philanthropic and pious friends who fain would lead us to this result, would of course comfort us with the consoling reflection that we had the glorious memory of John Brown in its place. (Great laughter and cheering.) Are you, gentlemen, prepared to make the exchange? (Renewed cheering, intermingled with cries of "No, no.") Shall the tomb of Washington, that rises on the banks of the Potomac, receiving its tribute from every nation of the earth—shall that become the property of a foreign State—(cries of "No, no")—a State hostile to us in its feelings, and we to it in ours? Shall we erect a monument among the arid hills at North Elba, and deem the privilege of making pilgrimages thither a recompense for the loss of every glorious recollection connected with our Revolution, and for our severance from the name of Washington? (Loud cheering.) No, gentlemen, we are not prepared, I trust, for this sad exchange, this fatal severance. We are not prepared, I trust, either to part

with the memories of our glorious past, or to give up the advantages of our present happy condition. We are not prepared to involve our section in the losses, the deprivation of blessings and advantages which would necessarily result to each section from the sentiment of disunion, were it unhappily carried into effect. (Cheers.) We never would have attained to the wealth and prosperity as a nation which is now ours, but for our connection with these very much reviled and injured slaveholders. If a dissolution of the Union is to take place, we must part with the trade of the South, and thereby surrender our participation in the wealth of the South. Nay, more; we are told upon good authority that in the event of disunion, we will part not only with the slaveholding States, but that our young sister with the golden crown, rich, teeming California—she who added the last final requisite to our greatness as a nation, will not come with us, but will remain with the South. (Cheers.) Gentlemen, if we allow this course of injustice toward the South to be continued, these are most assuredly to be the consequences—evil to us, evil also to them. Much of all that we are most proud of—much of all that contributes to our greatness and prosperity as a nation, must pass away from us. Is there any reason why we should allow it? There is a reason preached to us for permitting it. We are told that slavery is unjust. We are told that it is a matter of conscience to put it down, and that whatever treaties, compacts, laws, or constitutions may have been made to sanction and uphold it, it is still unholy, and that we are bound to trample on these treaties, compacts, laws, and constitutions, and to stand by what these men arrogantly tell us is the law of God, and a fundamental principle of natural justice.

Indeed, these two things—the law of God and the principles of natural justice—are not distinguishable. The law of God and natural justice, as between man and man, are one and the same thing. The wisest heathens gave the rule of conduct between man and man in these few words: Live honestly, injure no man, and render to every man his due. In words far more direct and emphatic, in words of perfect comprehensiveness, the Saviour gave us the same rule in one brief sentence: "Love thy neighbor as thyself." (Cheers.) Now, speaking as between us, people of the North, and the people of the South, I ask you to act on this rule—the maxim of the heathen, the command of God: Render to every man his due; love thy neighbor as thyself. Thus should we

act and feel toward the South. Upon that maxim, which came from Him of Nazareth, we are to act toward the South, and without putting upon it any new-fangled, modern interpretation. But, gentlemen, the question is, do these maxims justify the assertion of those who seek to invade the rights of the South by proclaiming that negro slavery is unjust? That is the point to which this great argument, involving the fate of our Union, must now come. Is negro slavery unjust? If it violates that great rule of human conduct, Render to every man his due, it is unjust. If it violates the law of God, which says, "Love thy neighbor as thyself," it is unjust. And, gentlemen, if it could be maintained that negro slavery is thus in conflict with the law of nature and the law of God, I might be prepared—perhaps we should all be prepared—to go with a distinguished man, to whom allusion is frequently made, and say, there is a higher law which compels us to disregard the Constitution and trample it beneath our feet as a wicked and unholy compact. And this is the question which we must now meet, and which we must finally determine for ourselves, and on which we must come to a conclusion that must govern us hereafter in the selection of representatives in the Congress of the United States. I insist that negro slavery is not unjust. (Cries of "Bravo!") It is not only not unjust, but it is just, wise, and beneficent. (Applause and loud hisses—cries of "Bravo!" and disorder. There being a strong disposition on the part of the audience to eject the offending parties, Mayor Tiemann demanded order, and called on the audience to allow the individuals to remain. Mr. O'Conor did likewise.)

Mayor Tiemann—Gentlemen: If anybody hisses here, you must remember that every one has a peculiar mode of expressing himself, and as the gentleman seems to understand hissing, let him hiss. (Loud cheers.)

Mr. O'Conor—Gentlemen: There is an animal upon this earth that has no faculty for making his sentiments known in any other way than by hissing. (Cheers.) I am for equal rights. (A voice: "Three cheers for Henry A. Wise." Loud cheers, followed by groans and hisses.) I beg of you, gentlemen, all of you, at least, who are of my opinion, to preserve silence, and to leave the hissing animal the full enjoyment of his natural privilege. (Cries of "Good.") The first of our race that offended was taught to do so by that hissing animal, the first human society that ever was

broken up through sin and discord had its happy union dissolved by the entrance of that animal. (Great cheering and laughter.) Therefore, I say, it is his privilege to hiss. Let him hiss on. (Cheers.) But, gentlemen, I will not detain you much longer. (Cries of "Go on.") I maintain that negro slavery is not unjust. (Cheers.) That it is benign in its influences, both on the white man and on the black. (A voice—"That is so.") I maintain that it is ordained by Nature—that it is a necessity of both races—that in the climates where the black race can live and prosper, Nature herself enjoins correlative duties on the black man and the white —which can not be performed except by the preservation, and, if the hissing gentlemen please, by the perpetuation of negro slavery. (Voices—"That is right." Cries of "Good," and cheers.) I am justified in this opinion by the highest tribunal in our country—that venerable exponent of our institutions and of our principles of justice—the Supreme Court of the United States. That court has held on this subject what wise men will ever pronounce to be sound and just doctrine. There are some principles well known and well understood, universally recognized and universally acknowledged among men, which are not to be found written in constitutions or in laws. The people of the United States, at the formation of our government, were, as they still are, in some sense, peculiar and radically distinguishable from other nations. We were white men, of what is called, by way of distinction, the Caucasian race. We were a monogamous people; that is to say, we were not Mohammedans, or followers of Joe Smith, with half a dozen wives a-piece. It was a fundamental principle of our civilization that no State could be tolerated or exist in this Union which would not, in that respect, resemble all the other States of the Union. Some other distinctive features might be stated which serve to mark us as a people distinct from others, and incapable of associating on terms of perfect political equality, or social equality, as friends and fellow-citizens, with certain classes of men that are to be found on the earth's surface. As a white nation, we made our Constitution and our laws, vesting all political rights in that race; they constituted in every political sense the American people. (Cheers.) As to the negro, we allowed him to live under the shadow and protection of our laws. We gave him, as we were bound to give him, protection; but we denied to him political rights or the power to govern. We left him for as long a period

as the community in which he dwelt should order in the condition of bondsman. (Applause.) To that condition the negro is assigned by nature. (Cries of "Bravo!" and cheers.) Experience has shown that his class can not prosper save in warm climates. In a cold or even a moderately cold climate he soon perishes; in the extremely warm regions his race is perpetuated, and with proper guardianship, may prosper. He has ample strength, and is competent to labor, but nature denies to him either the intellect to govern or the willingness to work. Both are denied him. But that same power which deprived him of the will to labor, gave him, in our country, as a recompense, a master to coerce that duty and convert him into a valuable and useful servant. (Cheers.) I contend that it is not injustice to leave the negro in the condition in which nature placed him, and for which condition he is adapted. Fitted only for a state of pupilage, our slave system gives him a master to govern him and supply his deficiencies; and in this there is no injustice. Neither is it injustice in the master to compel him to labor and thereby afford to that master a just compensation in return for the care and talent employed in governing him. In this way alone is the negro able to render himself useful to himself and to the society in which he is placed.

These are the principles, gentlemen, which the extreme measures of Abolitionism and its abettors compel us to enforce. This is the ground that we must take, or abandon our cherished Union. We must no longer favor political leaders who talk about Slavery being an evil; nor must we advance the indefensible doctrine that negro slavery is a thing which, although pernicious, is to be tolerated merely because we have made a bargain to tolerate it. We must turn away from the teachings of fanaticism. We must look at negro slavery as it is, remembering that the voice of inspiration as found in the sacred volume, nowhere condemns the bondage of those who are fit only for bondage. Yielding to the decree of nature and the voice of sound philosophy, we must pronounce that institution just, beneficent, lawful, and proper. The Constitution established by the fathers of our republic, which recognized it, must be preserved and maintained; and that both may stand together, we must maintain that neither the institution itself, or the Constitution which upholds it, is wicked or unjust, but that each is sound and wise, and entitled to our fullest support. We must visit with our execration every man claiming our suffrages who objects to en-

force, with entire good faith, the provisions of the Constitution in favor of slavery, or who seeks, by any indirection, to withhold its protection from the South, or to avoid its obligations upon the North. Let us support no man for public office whose speech or action tends to induce assaults upon the territory of our Southern neighbors, or to generate insurrection within their borders. (Loud cheers, and cries of "Good.")

These are the principles upon which we must act. This is what we must say to our brethren of the South. If we have sent men to Congress who are false to these views, and are seeking to violate the compact which binds us together, we must ask to be forgiven until we have another chance to manifest our will at the ballot boxes. We must tell the South that these men shall be consigned to privacy—(applause)—and that true men, men faithful to the Constitution, men loving all portions of the country alike, shall be elected in their stead. And, gentlemen, we must do more than promise this—we must perform it. (Loud applause, followed by three cheers for Mr. O'Conor, and a tiger.) But a word more, gentlemen, and I have done. (Cries of "Go on.") I have no doubt at all that what I have said to you this evening will be greatly misrepresented. It is very certain that I have not had time enough properly to enlarge upon, and fully to explain the interesting topics on which I have ventured to express myself thus boldly and distinctly, taking upon myself the consequences, be they what they may. (Applause.) But I will say a few words by way of explanation. I have maintained the justice of slavery; I have maintained it because I hold that the negro is decreed by nature to a state of pupilage under the dominion of the wiser white man in every clime where God and nature meant that the negro should live at all. (Applause.) I say a state of pupilage; and that I may be rightly understood, I say that it is the duty of the white man to treat him kindly—that it is the interest of the white man to treat him kindly. (Applause.) And further, it is my belief that if the white man, in States where slavery exists, be not interfered with by the fanatics who are now creating these disturbances, whatever laws, whatever improvements, whatever variations in the conduct of society are necessary for the purpose of enforcing in every instance the dictates of interest and humanity, as between the white man and the black, will be faithfully and fairly carried out in the progress of that improvement in all these things in

which we are all progressing. It is not pretended that the master has a right to slay his slave; it is not pretended that he has a right to be guilty of harshness and inhumanity to his slave. The laws of all the Southern States forbid that. We have not the right here at the North to be guilty of cruelty to a horse. It is an indictable offense to commit such cruelty. The same laws exist in the South, and if there is any failure in enforcing them to the fullest extent, it is due to this external force which is pressing upon the Southern States, and compels them to abstain, perhaps, from many acts beneficent toward the negro, which otherwise would be performed. (Applause.) In truth, in fact, in deed—in truth, in fact, in deed, the white man in the slaveholding States has no more authority by the law of the land over his slave than our laws allow to a father over his minor children. He can no more violate humanity with respect to them than a father in any of the free States of this Union can exercise acts violative of humanity over his own son under the age of twenty-one. So far as the law is concerned, you own your boys, and have a right to their services until they are twenty-one. You can make them work for you; you can hire out their services and take their earnings; you have the right to chastise them with judgment and reason if they violate your commands; and they are entirely without political rights. Not one of them at the age of twenty years and eleven months even can go to the polls and give a vote. Therefore, gentlemen, before the law, there is but one difference between the free white man of twenty years of age in the Northern States, and the negro bondman in the Southern States. The white man is to be emancipated at twenty-one, because his God-given intellect entitles him to emancipation and fits him for the duties to devolve upon him. The negro, to be sure, is a bondman for life. He may be sold from one master to another, but where is the ill in that?—one may be as good as another. If there be laws with respect to the mode of sale, which, by separating man and wife, do occasionally lead to that which shocks humanity, and may be said to violate all propriety and all conscience—if such things are done, let the South alone, and they will correct the evil. Let our brethren of the South take care of their own domestic institutions, and they will do it. (Applause.) They will so govern themselves as to suppress acts of this description, if they are occasionally committed, as perhaps they are, and we must all admit that they are contrary to

all just conceptions of right and humanity. I have never yet heard of a nation conquered from evil practices, brought to the light of civilization or brought to the light of religion and the knowledge of the Gospel by the bayonet, by penal laws, or by external persecutions of any kind. It is not by declamation and outcry against a people from those abroad and outside of their territory that you can improve their manners or their morals in any respect. No; if, standing outside of their territory, you attack the errors of a people, you make them cling to their faults. From a sentiment somewhat excusable—akin to self-respect and patriotism—they will resist their nation's enemy.

Let our brethren of the South alone, gentlemen; and if there be any errors of this kind, they will correct them. There is but one way in which you can thus leave them to the guidance of their own judgment, by which you can retain them in this Union as our brethren, and perpetuate this glorious Union; and that is, by resolving—without reference to the political party or faction to which any one of you may belong, without reference to the name, political or otherwise, which you may please to bear—resolving that the man, be he who he may, who advocates the doctrine that negro slavery is unjust, and ought to be assailed or legislated against, or who agitates the subject of extinguishing negro slavery in any of its forms as a political hobby, that that man shall be denied your suffrages, and not only denied your suffrages, but that you will select from the ranks of the opposite party, or your own, if necessary, the man you like least, who entertains opposite sentiments, but through whose instrumentality you may be enabled to defeat his election, and to secure in the counsels of the nation men who are true to the Constitution, who are lovers of the Union—men who can not be induced by considerations of imaginary benevolence for people who really do not desire their aid, to sacrifice or to jeopard in any degree the blessings we enjoy under this Union. May it be perpetual. (Great and continued cheering.)

Three cheers were given for the State of Virginia.

SPEECH OF EX-GOVERNOR HUNT.

The Hon. Washington Hunt, ex-Governor of New York, being then announced, rose and said:

Mr. President and Fellow-Citizens—In obedience to your summons I have come from the interior of our State, and appear before you to-night to mingle my voice with yours in behalf of American Union and Nationality. A profound sense of duty brings me here to unite with you in new vows of fidelity to the institutions we received from Washington, and Adams, and Jefferson, and Hamilton. I come to invoke that spirit of unity and brotherhood which carried our fathers through the dark and trying scenes of the Revolution, and which subsequently enabled them to perfect and establish the most perfect system of federal union and government ever devised by the wisdom of man. Let us unite our efforts for the rescue of our country from impending dangers, and endeavor once more to inspire those sentiments of mutual confidence and good-will, without which, even if union were possible, it were hardly worth preserving. We have reached a crisis in our affairs which demands the sober reflection of every true patriot, and which allows no man to fold his arms in silent indifference, as an unconcerned observer of passing events. The time has come when every American citizen must declare whether he intends to "keep step to the music of the Union," or lend his voice to swell the dismal chorus of sectional discord and defiance. The time has come for New York to speak and proclaim, in no ambiguous phrase, but in words of energy which can not be mistaken, that whatever others may do, she stands, and will forever stand, by that sacred compact which makes us one country and one people; that come what may, she will be found faithful to its obligations, loyal to its compromises, and true to its spirit; and that she will resist to the last extremity all fratricidal efforts, under whatsoever guise, or from whatsoever quarter they may proceed, to alienate the people of the two great sections of our country, or to weaken the ties of friendship which bind them together in one common destiny.

Mr. President, you have rendered a fitting and earnest tribute to the value of that Union, and I feel that it is unnecessary

for me to dwell upon the inspiring theme, especially in this presence, before an audience embracing so large a share of the intelligence and patriotism of the first commercial emporium of the American continent. Under the benignant sway of the Federal Constitution, our advances in strength, prosperity, and power, and in all that constitutes the true greatness and felicity of nations, are without a parallel in the annals of mankind. But seventy years have passed away, a period within the memory of living men, since the formation of our compact of union. Compare the situations of the infant republic with our present national condition. How wonderful the contrast! Instead of the original thirteen, feeble and exhausted, behold thirty-four powerful, prosperous States, united by the bonds of a common nationality! Instead of a narrow belt along the seaboard, we exhibit a broad continental republic, reaching from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and from the St. Lawrence to the Gulf of Mexico. We have grown from a population of four millions to thirty millions of people, enjoying constitutional liberty and security under the protecting eagle of the national power. New agencies of intercourse have overleaped the most formidable barriers, and brought the remotest parts near together. The national wealth and power of production have increased to an extent which appears fabulous. The expansion of our commerce has excited the wonder, I had almost said the envy, of the world. Already have we taken our place among the foremost nations of the earth, and before the lapse of another century, unless the ties of union shall be dissevered, the United States of America will have become the most powerful empire on the globe. Our example will animate and sustain, perhaps our power will protect, the friends of free government in other lands.

Why are all these mighty interests, these inestimable blessings, these precious hopes to be put at hazard? Shall the noblest legacy ever bestowed upon mankind be thrown away, and "counted nothing worth," because the domestic institutions of the States are diversified, and can not be molded into uniformity; or, in other words, because the South continues to hold the negro subordinate, the same as they held him at the formation of the Union? ("No, no.") When divested of the trappings of sophistry and the exaggerations of fanaticism,

the practical question which our people must consider is—whether the North and South are to be enemies or friends? What is to be the future relations between these two great sections? Is it peace or war? (Cries of "Peace, peace.") Shall they continue to move onward together as brethren under a common flag, mutually aiding and co-operating in the administration of one common government—or are they to be separated into distinct and hostile political systems, each to pursue its own destiny independent of the other?

Union means something more than the mere phraseology of a political compact. (Applause.) It vitally includes the idea of friendship and mutual kindness, to be manifested, not by formal professions, but by unmistakable acts of kindness and respect. There can be no real or permanent union between States hostile in feeling, and incessantly taught to regard each other with hatred and aversion. We have no reason to look for such a phenomenon, without a complete transformation of human nature and human passions. Whether the North and the South are to remain one country, or to be rent asunder and formed into separate confederacies, is a question in comparison with which the schemes of politicians and the ordinary conflicts of parties sink into utter insignificance.

I will not attempt to portray the calamities of disunion—the universal bankruptcy and ruin—the scenes of anarchy and blood—the sundering of kindred ties and cherished attachments—and the direful and interminable train of consequences which no human wisdom can foresee. Who can say that in such an event the States of the North and West would remain united? or that New York and New England could adjust the conditions of confederated power?—or even that New York and Philadelphia would consent to one common government? It would be far easier to excite jealousies between the parts than to reunite them, and political agitators would not then be wanting to sow the seeds of jealousy and conflict. Would not these disunited members soon relapse into the incoherent, discordant condition of the fragmentary States of South America, and become the sport of military ambition, to sink at last into the arms of despotic power?

The agitators of the slavery question ought to remember that African slavery was introduced in the Southern States long

before the Revolution; that the present generation inherited it from their ancestors and are not responsible for its existence, and that they now have a colored population of four millions, which they must be permitted to deal with according to their views of interest and duty. The opinions of Washington and Jefferson are sometimes introduced to sanction the present system of slavery agitation. It is true, that they both deplored the existence of slavery, and regarded it as an evil. But even then, when the slave population was less than one sixth of its present number, they perceived that the system was too pervading and formidable for their powers, and they brought forward no definite measures for its eradication. Least of all did they advise or encourage the people of the free States to form themselves into anti-slavery combinations to sit in judgment upon their sister communities, and disturb the public tranquillity by a constant outpouring of sectional animosity. On the contrary, their last and most emphatic warnings to their countrymen were intended to arouse them to the danger of sectional jealousies and dissensions. Washington signed the first fugitive slave law. Jefferson purchased Louisiana, and both sanctioned laws admitting slave States into the Union. Let us briefly consider the difficulties that were encountered in the adjustment of our federal compact, and then contemplate the wise statesmanship and generous patriotism by which they were surmounted. Then, as now, the States had their peculiar institutions and prejudices. They were widely dissimilar in climate and position, in their productions, their social organization and domestic policy. There were conflicting interests and opinions which could be reconciled only by the exercise of the noble magnanimity and true love of country which shone forth so conspicuous in that bright era of public virtue and patriotic zeal. After the Convention of 1787 had completed its labors, under the auspices of the Father of his Country, it devolved upon him, as president of the body, to communicate the Constitution to the Congress of the old confederation. After adverting to the difficulties produced "by a difference among the several States as to their situation, extent, habits, and particular interests," he holds the following language: "The Constitution which we now present is the result of a spirit of amity, and of that mutual deference and conces-

sion which the peculiarity of our political situation rendered indispensable." Yes, Mr. President, the spirit of amity perfected the glorious fabric—the spirit of amity must be invoked to sustain and preserve it.

One of the highest objects of the compact then made was to blend conflicting interests, and bind the States together by the ties of mutual benefit and affection. It was intended to combine their strength for the common welfare and protection, and insure for all the blessings of free intercourse and commerce on a firm foundation of perpetual friendship and concord. It was wisely decided by the patriots of that day, that the negro should not stand in the way of Union. ("Good.") Then, as now, it was apparent that the very diversities and differences to which I have adverted, increased the necessity for a national compact which should insure domestic tranquillity, and unite the efforts of the States and the people for the attainment of those common objects, which require the exercise of concentrated national power. Experience has demonstrated that the varied forms of industry and production contribute to the general strength, and largely augment the benefits resulting from commercial interchange between the different sections of the country. The notion that the States of the North and South can not co-exist side by side as friends and neighbors, and act together harmoniously in one national system, by reason of the dissimilarity of their domestic institutions, and that partisan warfare between them is either necessary or justifiable, until slavery shall have been abolished in one section or legalized in the other, is an absurd and mischievous fallacy, having no basis of fact or sound argument for its support.

Our whole history rejects the proposition, and common sense refutes it; for I emphatically deny that there is any necessary antagonism between African slave labor in the tropical South and free labor in the temperate North.

It is no more necessary now than in times past, that any State should surrender the control of its internal affairs, or that either section should abandon its own to adopt the system or the opinions of the other. It is the unquestionable right of every State to regulate its own domestic concerns, without intervention from other parts of the country. ("Three cheers for Governor Hunt.")

The recent invasion of Virginia by a band of conspirators, for the avowed purpose of arming the slaves and organizing a servile insurrection, has excited emotions of abhorrence in every mind not incurably distempered by sectional fanaticism. Ought it to surprise us that an attempt so nefarious, so diabolical, should arouse feelings of intense indignation among the Southern people, or that they should look with such solicitude for an expression of the sentiments of the North in regard to this treasonable assault upon their peace and security? (Cries of "No, indeed.") Of course they have not failed to observe that for some years past the discussion of negro slavery has been the leading business of a large number of presses, lecturers, politicians, and preachers in the North, and that the slave States and slaveholders have been made the standing theme of invective and assault. The slavery question has been made to swallow up every other topic of public interest in the minds of many benevolent but misguided persons, whose sympathies are most powerfully and singularly excited by those distant evils, real or imaginary, which lie entirely beyond their control. In a healthful state of the public sentiment, the bloody scenes at Harper's Ferry, and the attempt to arm a servile population with thousands of murderous spears to be bathed in the blood of men, women, and children of our own race and lineage, would have produced but one universal thrill of horror. Yet there are men among us whose minds are so diseased by sectional prejudice that they openly express sympathy with John Brown and his schemes of murder and insurrection. ("Shame, shame!") I regret to add that there are presses in the land which, while feebly expressing a disapproval of his acts, yet do not so much condemn the atrocity of his intentions as the inadequacy of his plans and the chimerical nature of the undertaking. They appear to be far more malignant with Virginia for executing her laws than with him for violating them. Apparently forgetting that he entered a sister State in the garb of a peaceful settler, professing friendly purposes, that for months his life was a fraud and a false pretense, intended to lull his victims into a fatal security; that while indulging these false professions, he was secretly preparing to imbrue his hands in the blood of the innocent, and enact barbarities at which human-

ity shudders, they exhibit him to the public as a victim to what they strangely call the aggressive spirit of slavery. It is time to proclaim in the most emphatic manner that the great body of our citizens have no share in these detestable sentiments, but on the contrary regard them with alarm and horror, as subversive of law, justice, and humanity. (Applause.) They indignantly reprobate every attempt to endanger the peace and security of our Southern brethren. It is the sovereign right and prerogative of Virginia to make and administer her own laws. The people of other States have no lawful concern in the matter. She gave John Brown a fair judicial trial (applause), and the whole country should rejoice, not only that he and his confederates received the punishment so justly due to their crimes, but that his schemes of widespread insurrection and slaughter were so promptly crushed. (Cheers for Virginia.) John Brown was a citizen of our own State, and, as far as he could, he dishonored her by his treasonable violation of the rights of Virginia. It is peculiarly fitting, therefore, that the people of New York, of all parties, should make their sentiments distinctly understood, and emphatically declare their abhorrence of his crime, and the ungovernable fanaticism in which it originated, and by which it has been too long encouraged.

We have not forgotten that New York and Virginia are sister States, and have plighted their mutual faith in the bonds of confederation and union. (Cheers.) Who can ever forget that they stood side by side through the stormy scenes of the Revolution, and that Washington, the noblest son of Virginia, in the darkest hour of despondency defended the soil of New York against the overwhelming force of the invader, and the more dangerous machinations of domestic treason? We might also well remember that Virginia, in a spirit of disinterested patriotism, not surpassed on the brightest pages of History, gave to the Union that vast and imperial domain which now constitutes the prosperous free States of the northwest and the richest nursery of the commerce and prosperity of New York.

Cherishing these recollections of the past, well may we blush for the decay of national spirit when we hear the needless insults so frequently aimed at that Commonwealth, for re-

maining in the social and domestic condition transmitted to her by the generations which have passed away. Survey our past history, and tell me what Virginia has done to us to justify these ebullitions of resentment. ("Nothing at all.") Has she ever invaded our territory with spears, or interfered with our internal concerns, or sought to force her institutions upon us? ("No, no.")

The free States of the North entered into the federal compact with the slave States of the South, with their eyes open. We knew that they held a large African population in domestic servitude. Yet we chose to unite with them in forming a common government for specified national objects. After contracting these federal relations and adopting the Constitution as the charter of perpetual amity, is it a friendly proceeding, is it consistent with honor and good faith, to turn upon them, and arraign them in language of condemnation and insult, on the question of negro slavery, which belongs wholly to them, and over which we have neither jurisdiction nor control? ("No.") To me it seems an unwise and ungenerous interference with a subject which is none of ours. It is a violation of the comity of States, which can have no useful effect whatever. It aggravates the evils which it would remedy, and produces increased severity by exciting feelings of irritation and insecurity among the only people who have power over the condition of the slaves.

Mr. President: In all the sectional collisions which have disturbed the country, my voice has been on the side of moderation. (Cheers.) I have never sympathized with factious agitators in the North, nor with disunionists in the South. Always maintaining the just rights of my own section, I have been equally ready to respect the rights and the feelings of the other. When differences have arisen, from whatever cause, I have contended for their adjustment in a friendly spirit, on principles consistent with the rights and the honor of both sections.

It is not my purpose now to review past controversies, or to discuss their origin or their merits. It would serve no useful purpose. We have all expressed our opinions, and acted an honest part, according to our own sense of patriotic duty. Instead of reviving the disputes which have divided

the North and the South, and interrupted harmonious relations, it is much wiser to consider how they may be terminated and banished from our national councils. (Applause.) So far as there was anything practical in the sectional contests which have convulsed the country, they are ended already, and belong to the domain of history. The crisis demands that we should exercise a spirit of patriotic conciliation. It is time that this angry warfare of sections should cease, and that the voice of discord should be rebuked and hushed forever. The present condition of the country calls emphatically for moderation. (Applause.) In national concerns, no less than the subordinate relations of men, moderation is the highest wisdom. By rejecting its counsels and yielding to the fury of excited passions, most of the free republics, ancient and modern, after a brief career of prosperity, perished from the earth. The voice of history warns us that the rivalries, jealousies, and conflicts of confederated States have always resulted in the destruction of free government. If my feeble voice could be heard throughout the land, I would plead for moderation both in the North and the South. I would earnestly appeal to the people of the Southern States, in the present moment of exasperation, to avoid all extreme and unconstitutional measures, and to reject the counsels of any who would hurry them forward into the vortex of treason and disunion. Let them be assured that there is no occasion for this fearful and fatal alternative. They may still rely on the justice, and fidelity, and friendship of the great body of their countrymen in the free States. A vast majority of the people of the North, of all parties, are still loyal to the Union and the Constitution, and so far from intending, they will resist every effort to invade, the institutions and the rights of the slaveholding States. The old feeling of national brotherhood and affection will revive and assert its resistless power, even in the breasts of thousands who have been momentarily misled by the impulses of sectional feeling and excited passions. Our fellow-citizens in the South ought certainly to remember that whole communities can not justly be held responsible for the ravings of individual fanatics and the wild schemes of sectional agitators and conspirators.

At the same time, let us appeal to the men of the North to act

a conservative and patriotic part. Will they not arise in their might and put an end to this detestable and dangerous warfare between the two great sections of the American Union? (Cries of "Yes.") Every patriot heart must desire the restoration of peace and the revival of mutual confidence and kindness. I contend that negro slavery ought no more now, than in 1787, to stand in the way of national unity and concord. (Applause.) As that question was not permitted to defeat the formation of the Union, we should not allow it to mar the enjoyment of its blessings. We all know that slavery is regarded with different sentiments in the free States and the slave States. It was so from the beginning; but the Constitution has wisely left each State to regulate the subject according to its own will and pleasure. If the people will bear in mind this fundamental truth, and govern themselves accordingly, sectional controversy and excitement must soon disappear. The constant discussion and agitation of the slavery question in the free States has become an intolerable nuisance. (Tremendous applause and cheers.) A portion of the Northern press seem to consider it the only subject of human interest. They will not allow us to lose sight of it for a day. In literature, in politics, in religion, they insist that it is the great moral pivot on which everything must turn. A stranger in the land, ignorant of our history, would infer that for the first time we are about to decide whether slavery shall be permitted in this country or not. Of course he would be greatly surprised to learn that New York, New England, and all the free States abolished slavery many years ago, and that no man has yet proposed to restore it. We decided that it is not good for us, and we will not have it, thus fulfilling our duty, and exhausting our jurisdiction over the subject. That should be the end of the matter, so far at least as we are concerned. For what legitimate purpose, then, is an anti-slavery excitement to be kept alive in the free States? Most of the political agitators of the subject admit that they have no power or disposition to interfere with slavery in the States where it exists, and many of them even repel the idea that they seek in any way to benefit the colored population. But nevertheless they wage an interminable war of words, proposing nothing for the benefit either of master or slave, but leaving the insti-

tution in full vigor, as a perpetual target for political adventurers.

But is it urged that their real object is to prevent the extension of slavery into free territory. That was once a pending practical question. It is so no longer. Kansas is free, as many of us maintained that it must be from causes too powerful to be controlled by the efforts of politicians or propagandists. All the territory affected by the repeal of the Missouri Compromise is free, and must forever remain so. That battle is fought and won, and the troops should be disbanded. There is no territory belonging to the Union in which slavery can be profitably established. Every reflecting man in the South, as well as the North, sees and admits the fact.

We may be told that there are slaves in New Mexico, and that the territorial legislature has made it legal. But the notion that slavery can be planted there as a permanent system is too chimerical for serious discussion. It is no more probable than the introduction of the cotton culture into Maine or Nova Scotia. What is New Mexico? It is a remote and inaccessible region of mountain ranges and desert plains, vividly and accurately described as a "howling desolation." It is said that a few unhappy army officers have taken slaves into that forlorn wilderness as domestic servants to cook their rations. This may be so, but it is well known that there is no agriculture there upon which slave labor could subsist. No Southern planter could be induced to migrate there. The whole American continent can not afford to be convulsed from year to year merely to prevent a danger so trifling and so remote. As a matter of fact, the Territories have ceased to be the object of sectional contest. Why then prolong the strife on a mere abstraction after the controversy is decided? The North already holds a large preponderance of strength. She can afford to be just and magnanimous. Texas was the last slave State admitted into the Union. Since that event, the whole Pacific coast has been added to the domain of free territory; four free States have been admitted, and Kansas is forthcoming. While the public ear is wearied with incessant railings on the extension and the aggressions of slavery, these actual results show that in fact there has been no extension whatever. (Applause.) Mr. President, the age of the Cru-

sades is past, and the country is entitled to repose. The time has come (if it is ever to come) for terminating these unhappy and needless sectional dissensions. (Cheers.) There are great national interests in which all the States have a common concern, and which the Federal Union was intended to foster and protect. How much more vital and important are these common objects, belonging to all, and necessary for all, than the single point of diversity which has been too long the absorbing source of angry irritation! It should be the effort of every sincere patriot to recall the public mind from these mischievous disputes, to the national concerns which affect the welfare of the whole country, and to those sentiments of mutual regard which prevailed in the better days of the Republic. The interruption of friendly feelings between the States of the North and the South is of itself a great and incalculable evil. It withers and blights the choicest benefits which the Union was intended to secure. It embitters our national councils, obstructs all useful legislation, arrests commercial intercourse, and destroys that feeling of confidence and security which is one of the highest objects of civil society. Our divisions create well-founded alarm for the stability of our republican institutions, and make us a by-word and reproach among the nations. It is a spectacle from which every patriotic heart must recoil with mortification and dismay. It inspires the despots of the earth with fresh hopes, and everywhere chills the aspirations of the friends of constitutional liberty. I trust that good men throughout the land will unite in the work of peace and conciliation, and proclaim their unalterable purpose to resist all further efforts to combine section against section in political strife. ("They will.") It was not intended by the founders of our government that one portion of the country should rule or subjugate the other. Far different, more noble and exalted, were their aims. They sought to frame a constitutional system which should unite the people of all the States into one family of freemen, to participate harmoniously in the responsibilities of power, to share equally in its blessings, and to unite their efforts to uphold the principles of civil and religious liberty. Such was the government which our fathers made, and may it be our happy destiny to preserve it as it came from their hands.

There are those who maintain that the Union possesses a strength superior to human vicissitude, and that its stability can not be endangered by any political contingency. They are disposed to treat with levity and poor attempts at ridicule all expressions of apprehension and solicitude. They profess to rely on the strength of mountain chains and navigable waters to hold the parts together. I do not under-estimate the power of material interests and commercial ties as a bond of political connection, but these alone are not sufficient. The excited passions, the determined will of States and communities, are not to be controlled by geographical or commercial channels of intercourse. Popular feeling, when deeply aroused, disdains the barriers of physical nature.

Neither rivers, nor seas, nor mountain ranges, nor laws of trade or financial interests affecting the public prosperity have proved sufficient to save republics from dismemberment and destruction. The voluntary affection and loyalty of the people is the only sure basis for a free government. A love of the Union must be cherished in the hearts of the whole American people. We must continue to regard it as the greatest political blessing ever conferred upon mankind. Let us this night send forth a declaration which shall assure our brethren in the South that the people of the North are ready to put away strife, and lay fresh offerings upon the altar of our common country. I see and feel that the heart of this metropolis glows with patriotic fervor. Its generous pulsations will be felt to the remotest extremities of our vast continental republic. Be it proclaimed and understood from this time forth that New York will never falter in her loyalty to the Union and the Constitution; that she still cherishes a proud recollection of the united efforts and common sacrifices by which our national independence was secured, and that she will never cease to foster those sentiments of national brotherhood and affection which animated the fathers of our country, and which bind us together by the most sacred and indissoluble ties. (Great applause.)

In the progress of human events it has been reserved to the people of this country to decide by their conduct and example whether societies of men are capable or not of maintaining a system of free representative government, and whether States

differing in climate and institutions can be permanently united under a common confederation. A more sacred charge was never committed to any nation. The warnings of history should not be lost upon the freemen of America. Once more I would invoke them all, in the North and the South, the East and the West, to be faithful to the mighty interests intrusted to their hands. May they cultivate that broad and generous patriotism which embraces the whole country in its affections. May they ever look with patriotic disdain on the poor partisan arts which, for selfish ends, would undermine the glorious fabric of our united nationality, but with clear heads and honest hearts ever resist the ruthless and sacrilegious efforts to rend asunder those grand communities which the great Architect of nations has so graciously joined together. (Long and enthusiastic applause and cheers.)

ADDRESS OF JAMES S. THAYER.

Jas. S. Thayer, Esq., was then introduced, and apologized for the non-appearance of ex-Governor Seymour, in consequence of sudden illness, and then proceeded to say:

"Know thyself" is a maxim as instructive to states as to individuals. The principles that enlighten and make free, the causes of growth, and the sources of prosperity to a state, wherever they are allowed to have play, are palpable, and similar under all forms of government. But the causes that weaken and undermine are secret and insidious—the accidents that end dynasties and produce revolutions are frequently slight and inconsiderable, and the events that overturn governments and dissolve confederacies break in upon a fancied security, that startles and bewilders, and leaves no time for wise counsel and patriotic effort to avert the crisis. No people were ever more liable to fold their hands in the face of impending danger, or to lie down on the brink of a dissolution of the government than we are.

When men are busy and prosperous, following their ordinary occupations without interruption, and the ample protection of state and municipal law shields them in the enjoyment of every right and privilege, they forget the larger and higher duties and responsibilities they owe to the confederacy. Their

homes unmolested, their hearth-stones secure, and they kneel in faithful devotion to their household gods. But their footsteps are seldom seen in the wide and open temple of a nation's worship, where are enshrined the sacred memorials and emblems of our nationality. They bear no offerings to that all-protecting genius of our Union and liberty, which exalts us from the sovereignty of petty states, without a name, where men have only their rights and well being—to the regal character and power of an empire that commands the respect and admiration of the world—whose citizens are proud of the heritage of a great and common country, and affluent in the hopes of a common destiny and glory. (Cheers.)

Let those who choose revile Union meetings and Union movements, whether the alarm be false or real—if there is but the sign or appearance of danger, I shall rally with those who gather close around the national flag. (Applause.) And who would not rather be there, renewing his vows of fidelity to the Constitution and the Union, than with the mocking band who begin with impugning the motives and deriding the actions of all who would uphold the government, and will end in joining those who would overthrow it? (Applause.)

I think this meeting to-night, unparalleled as an imposing popular demonstration in the city of New York, deserves at least the respect of all fair-minded men, and I trust that in its spirit and expression it will come fairly up to the requirements of the occasion, and meet the expectation of the country to the fullest extent. If propriety requires that names and parties should not be mentioned, truth and candor demand that things should be called by their right names, and that principles should be dealt with according to their nature, tendency, and effects. (Applause.) To come, then, squarely up to the issue, to grapple with it fearlessly and without parley—what is the present aspect and position of the Slavery question between the North and the South?

I think it is comprehended in this—that whenever the anti-Slavery sentiment is introduced into politics, and made the *sole basis* of party organization and action, it becomes *abolitionism*. (Prolonged applause.) It may not be altogether such in the outset, but that is its tendency, and must of necessity be its ultimate result. (Applause.)

The anti-slavery sentiment, as a moral conviction and opinion in the minds and consciences of men, no matter how strong, is a passive sentiment, and remains such until introduced into politics. It then becomes an active agency, and if it alone constitutes a party—if there is nothing of the party but what is based on this—then we must see what is its antagonism—what it is directed against—for every party is an active and opposing force, formed for positive and aggressive action.

Now, will you tell me what there is for a party based solely on anti-slavery to oppose, to fight against? Not certainly the extension of slavery in Territories—that contest is ended. (Applause.) Not the revival of the slave trade, for this finds too few advocates to make an issue. (Applause.) Then certainly it must oppose slavery as it exists, or its office is at an end—"Othello's occupation's gone!" (Applause.)

There will, of course, be many classes under this generic head—as many different shades of Abolitionists as there are of color in the African race—varying from the real jet of Mrs. Stowe's "Uncle Tom" to the "Octoroon" of Bourcicault. (Applause.)

Some—only a few, I hope—if they do not engage in, would countenance an insurrection, would *furnish* arms, if they did not *use* them.

Many will intensify and inflame the bitter hatred to slavery and slaveholders, till the very weight of animosity and aversion engendered will make the Union unbearable.

A large class openly proclaim that the fugitive slave law should not be executed, and that the decision of the Supreme Court in the Dred Scott case is a nullity.

The largest number strenuously insist that they would not in any way encroach upon the constitutional rights of the South—no, no, not that. Their method is one of moral suasion. They would convince the South that they are morally and economically wrong, and by a mild administration of such effective and healing doctrines as are contained in the Helper compendium (laughter), the evil will be speedily eradicated. These are the varied and delicate threads which are to supply the spindle that is weaving the "bond of cable strength" that will drag us to the very brink—if not into the pit itself—of disunion.

The growth of political anti-slavery in the last ten years has been rapid and formidable. The breaking up and division of parties has furnished ample material for recruiting and strengthening it. Able and adroit leaders, with unceasing toil and marvelous skill, have wrought of these materials a structure, large and imposing, but frail and unsubstantial—a structure inhabited by many unwilling occupants, who sought it only for a temporary abode, for a special purpose—already accomplished (applause); old conservative Whigs, for instance, who will soon leave it when they find the company they are in (applause), men who have no notion of making their permanent home in a house that opens only to the North, and is founded on the shifting sands of sectional strife and animosity. (Applause.)

In 1844, out of 480,000 votes in the State of New York, there were only 16,000 Abolition votes pure and simple. That small cloud, then no bigger than a man's hand, has in fifteen years overspread the whole Northern sky; its dark and angry folds curtain the farthest horizon of the East and the West; the roll of its loud thunder shakes the whole heavens from side to side, and eyes that never before quailed in storm or tempest now turn with dismay from the blinding glare of its lightning. (Sensation.) But this shall not always last—light is already breaking through the darkness of night, and before another twelvemonth has passed, the sun of our liberty will purple with a soft and tranquil glow the Eastern and Northern hills—and holding on his course through a serene and unclouded pathway, will usher in a day as bright as when the morning stars of our Union first sang together, and rose in that galaxy that is now radiant with so many added glories. (Prolonged and enthusiastic applause and cheers.)

That the anti-slavery sentiment, when made the sole basis of party organization, becomes what I have stated, is evident, not only as a logical deduction from what that sentiment is, and necessarily becomes, when subjected to the uses of a party that professes no other principle of action, but from the avowed sentiments of anti-slavery leaders. The doctrine of an "irrepressible conflict" is now the received and accepted one. Let us look a little at this doctrine—its nature and meaning. The distinguished author of it foreshadowed it fifteen years ago, in

a letter written, I think to a Committee in Philadelphia, who had invited him to be present on some public occasion. In the year 1845, he said, "The distinctions in parties are being measurably lost sight of, and must in the end be wholly so, and merged in the inevitable conflict between slavery and the democratic principle." I quote from recollection, and may not be precisely accurate in the language, but that is the sentiment. So, the doctrine is not new; it has been long aimed at and waited for. Fifteen years ago it was "*inevitable*"—that is, sure to come. We now see the beginning of it. Events have favored its advent, old issues have died out, parties have been broken up, the way has been cleared for it, and the "irrepressible conflict" is upon us. In 1845, the Abolitionists only asked that what was "inevitable" should take place. It has taken place, and they are content—satisfied, as all Abolitionists *should* be, and as none but Abolitionists *can* be. (Applause.) If this sentiment is not the extreme doctrine of rank abolitionism, I do not know where to find it. And yet this doctrine is widely indorsed, it is inscribed on banners, and is rung out loudly and approvingly by the prominent men and leaders of a great party. There are some who attempt to soften the phrase—to dilute the doctrine, by assigning it a place in the dull, cold category of "abstractions," "general philosophical truths," and gravely ask, if there has not been for 3,000 years a conflict between free and slave labor, and must not always be. As if all arguments drawn from history or analogy do not proceed on the fact or assumption, that where there is such a conflict, free and slave labor exist in the same community, side by side, under the same institutions, and governed by the same laws, assuming forms of competing labor and rival industry. This is the essence of the whole thing. And there can be no such conflict in this country, unless it be from overt and aggressive action on the part of free labor. (Applause.) For the reason, first, that slave labor exists in a distinct and separate community; is created, regulated, and controlled by the laws of the States in which it exists; is recognized and protected from interference and molestation by the Constitution of the United States. (Applause.) And we of the North have no right to meddle with it—peaceably or forcibly—directly or indirectly—polit-

ically or socially—in any form or manner. (Prolonged applause and cheering.) It is hardly necessary for us, fellow-citizens, to say that we do not believe that any considerable portion of the North, of any party or class, approve of the attempt of John Brown and his confederates to excite an insurrection of slaves in Virginia. (Applause.) That there should be any, is a disgrace to a Christian age and country. But while those who approve the act are only a handful, revilers of all human laws and blasphemers against God, there are those—too many—who, while they condemned the *act*, sympathize in some degree with *the man*, and attempt to invest, with something of heroic features, crimes of the most cold-blooded atrocity, which, if they had been fully consummated, would have opened up scenes of fire, blood, and desolation without a parallel in the annals of human woe. (Applause.)

It has been said—and it is true—that this meeting and all similar demonstrations are a delusion and a snare, unless they are followed by some corresponding healthful action. We should not rest with a simple declaration of our sentiments. Let us act, as well as speak. (Applause.) Let us unite, organize, and by a united and consolidated movement assume a a position that shall hold the balance of power in the politics of the country. (Great applause.) Let us place in the councils of the nation statesmen—real statesmen—not men of one idea, but men of enlarged views—(applause)—men whose comprehension will take in the whole country (applause), who, measuring its great wants and high destiny, will come up to the standard of the statesmanship of other and better days. (Hearty cheers.) When we find the popular voice approving, and sixty-eight *liberal-minded*, *national* representatives in Congress with the Helper compendium in their pockets, as a text-book, is it not time to reform our politics? (Cries of "Aye, aye," and applause.) Let this meeting, to-night, be the first movement in that direction. (Applause.) Let the popular mind be educated, brought up to a careful and full appreciation of the high responsibilities and duties of a citizen. Let the historical element of our government be unfolded—brought plainly into view, and impressed upon the understanding of the people; impart to them the knowledge that shall discern relations purely political, separating them

from the encroachments of personal conscience, and assigning to the State a legitimate and undivided authority that the individual has no right to question, unless he abandons his citizenship, and renounces the government whose protection he enjoys. (Applause.) With an elevated and well-directed popular opinion, our politics may be reformed, and men placed in the councils of the country who will bring to the upholding and preservation of our free institutions the same calm wisdom and temperate thought and purpose that presided over their foundation and early administration. (Applause.) Then, indeed, will our peaceful and happy country, in ever-enduring cycles of abundant joy and prosperity, fulfill her glorious destiny. Then the Constitution, in this day of secure enjoyment and repose, folded in as close and cherished an embrace as when our fathers, in the hour of their greatest need and most imminent peril, cradled it into life and being—fear no enemy, but live

> "In the affections of the general heart,
> And in the wisdom of the best."

And every arrow from that full quiver of anti-slavery wrath, whether winged from the press, the pulpit, or the forum, fall blunted on the impenetrable shield of a nation's love and reverence. (Great applause.)

Hon. John A. Dix was introduced and enthusiastically cheered. He spoke as follows:

SPEECH OF HON. JOHN A. DIX.

Fellow-Citizens — At this late hour of the evening, and after the eloquent addresses you have heard from the distinguished speakers who have preceded me, I fear the few plain words I wish to say to you may fall coldly upon the ear; but such is the importance of the subject that it will bear some repetition, and I will throw myself upon your indulgence for a few moments.

I consider the occasion which has called us together as the very gravest in our history as a nation. It involves the momentous problem of the continued existence of the States of

this Union in the bonds of harmony, in which they were united by the wisdom of our forefathers after years of bloody conflict with one of the most powerful nations of the earth. The triumphant issue of the war of the Revolution did not put an end to the embarrassments which obstructed the formation of a stable government. They continued after the cessation of hostilities during nearly nine years of doubt and uncertainty, and almost of despair, on the part of some of the most sober-minded men of that day. The foundations of the government under which we live were laid in peril from within and without; and it required on the part of the men who framed the Federal Constitution a fund of patriotism and sagacity transcending all previous example to rescue the confederacy from the danger of disorganization with which it was threatened. Under the government they at last succeeded in establishing, we have lived in harmony and fraternal friendship for seventy years. From a feeble confederation of independent States held together by the loosest political bonds, we have become a powerful and united people. We need not fear to measure our physical strength with any of the great empires of the Eastern Hemisphere. (Applause.) Our prosperity and our progress have no parallel in the history of the past. Freedom from all unnecessary personal restraint, the right of every individual to the unrestricted use of his property, and his intellectual resources in all the departments of industry have developed the genius of our countrymen in a thousand forms of physical and social improvement, giving energy to our own advances, waking up the drowsy faculties of the Old World, and contributing to liberate them from the shackles in which they have been held for centuries by narrow systems of policy and government. Above all, our people are prosperous in their vocations of business, happy in their social relations, and respected in every quarter of the globe for their boldness, their enterprise, and their indefatigable perseverance. (Cheers.)

Are not these great results to have been achieved in less than three quarters of a century? In this short period (for it is short in the life of a nation) we have spread ourselves, with our improvements in government, in industry, and in art, over the American Continent. The same sun, which the fathers in the old States see in the morning rising out of the turbulent

Atlantic, the children on the opposite shores of California and Oregon see at night going down into the placid bosom of the Pacific. Fellow-citizens, it was four hundred and eighty-six years after the foundation of the Roman Republic before it succeeded in extending its dominion by force of arms over all Italy. In seventy years we have by the unoffending arts of peace covered and subdued a continent. In the rise and progress of empires there is nothing to compare with ours. (Applause.)

The question which presses on us (a question the settlement of which can not be safely postponed) is whether we will, by a faithful discharge of our constitutional obligations, and by a scrupulous performance of the duties of good neighborhood —duties which have their foundation in natural law, and which are precedent both in the order of time and in moral force to all social organizations—preserve what of honor, prosperity, and power we have gained, or whether we will permit all to be swept away by the tide of fanaticism, and the Union, the source of everything valuable we possess, to be resolved into its constituent elements. This is the question presented to us. It can not be evaded. It ought not to be evaded. It should be met manfully and disposed of as patriotism and justice dictate. (Cheers.)

Fellow-citizens, a combination having for its purpose to disturb the quietude of the Southern States, and to liberate their slaves held in bondage under their own laws, and recognized as thus lawfully held by the constitution of the United States, has recently been disclosed : not disclosed by accident—not by the infidelity to each other of any of the parties implicated in it, but by the failure of the initiatory enterprise undertaken with force of arms, and sealed with blood; an enterprise having for its object to excite insurrection in a portion of the Union, and to break up its social organization with fire and sword.

Great efforts have been made to underrate the importance of this movement, to obscure the public judgment by measuring it by its results, and by deriding it as an enterprise too insignificant for sober comment or for serious consultation among ourselves. Insurrectionary movements, conspiracies against the public order, either general or local, armed com-

binations against the supremacy of the law, treason in peace or in war, are to be judged by their purposes and not by their issues. Schemes the best concerted, which, if successful, would have led to consequences the most momentous, often fail in the execution. The treason of Arnold, if it had not been detected, would have delivered the stronghold of the Revolution into the hands of the public enemy, and proved most disastrous to the cause of American Independence. The world has judged the criminal attempt by its intention, and not measured its enormity by its discomfiture. Those who sympathize with the authors of the Harper's Ferry treason would have the country regard it as the insane vagary of a fanatic acting on his own individual impulse, and without preconcert, except with a few followers as insane as himself. The facts prove the very reverse of all this. They show a deliberate purpose running through a series of years, or at least of months, to invade the Southern States by force for the purpose of liberating slaves, and so stir up a servile insurrection against their masters. Arms and ammunition have been accumulated, money contributed, and a military organization formed, or at least attempted to be formed, to carry out the object of the conspiracy. Finally, a successful attack was made on one of the public arsenals, and the authority of the general government set at defiance; and it was not until after the shedding of blood and the sacrifice of life on both sides that the conspirators were dislodged, and either killed or captured. Here are all the elements of a conspiracy of the most treasonable character; and if the movement had been responded to as was anticipated by the leader of the enterprise, no man can doubt that the district of country against which it was directed would have been a scene of devastation and bloodshed, and that it would have been in its consequences most disastrous to the peace of the Union. The movement is to be judged, then, like all other treasonable enterprises—not by its failure, but by its design and its possible consequences.

In this point of view it would be most important to ascertain, if we could, to what extent the purposes of those concerned in it were known to, and how far they had the concurrence of, prominent men in the non-slaveholding States. I

accuse no one of complicity in the transaction. Every man is entitled to the presumption of innocence until his guilt is proved. But it is not necessary, in order to convict an individual of moral complicity in this treasonable enterprise, that he should have been previously apprised of the particular act in which the general purpose was to manifest itself. It is not necessary that he should have known and encouraged the intention of Brown and his followers to attack Harper's Ferry and seize the national armory by force. In that case he would have been an accessory before the fact to a criminal act, and might have been held to the same responsibility as the principals. But there is a moral responsibility, which, though it may not be amenable to punishment by human law, is in every just sense as real as that of him who is guilty of the overt act of treason. (Applause.) Knowledge of the treasonable design in its general purpose without disclosing or discountenancing it; doctrines publicly proclaimed, the direct tendency of which is to inflame the passions and to incite to acts subversive of law, injurious to the interests and destructive of the tranquillity of the Union, though they may not fall within the pale of the criminal jurisprudence of the country, are amenable to the tribunal of public opinion, and should find there the highest punishment it can award (applause)—the condemnation of a community looking to the preservation of the public order as the only security against anarchy and despotism. No man, thus marked, can ever rise high up in the scale of political preferment. (Applause.) He may attain a local notoriety and distinction, but when measured by the national standard, he will be found even by his own political associates to fall far short of the moral and intellectual dimensions essential to the highest pre-eminence. (Applause.)

Does any thinking man suppose that the Union can be preserved, if aggressions like this, contrived and set on foot in one section of the Union against the security and peace of another are continued? It is impossible. One of the declared objects of the formation of the Constitution, as is stated in the Resolutions, "was to insure domestic tranquillity." Does any one believe that the common government established under it can be upheld when it has ceased to secure any one of the great objects for which it was instituted? What are the obliga-

tions of one community to another? To respect its rights of sovereignty and property, to abstain from all that is calculated to disturb its peace or foment discord among its inhabitants; in a word, to do no act which shall be prejudicial to its welfare. If there be any higher law for the political government of men than that which is contained in the written constitutions they have framed for themselves, it is the Christian rule of doing to others as we would have others do to us. Every community is answerable for the conduct of its citizens, and if it refuses to punish acts of aggression committed by them, against the citizens of another, it becomes an accomplice, and may be held responsible for the injury. Between independent nations such acts of aggression unredressed would constitute justifiable cause of war. It is not necessary to go to the books for authority for these obligations. They are the dictates of common reason; they are written in the hearts and consciences of men, and they rise above all the conventional arrangements of human society. If these are the imperative duties of independent States, should they not be deemed equally sacred by States living under a common government and holding their liberties, their property, and their domestic peace by the same tenure? (Cries of "Yes, yes.") How have we fulfilled these obligations? Nay, how have we discharged the common offices of good neighborhood?

Fellow-citizens: The Constitution of the United States recognizes the existence of slavery, and the Resolutions which have been read to you present with great conciseness the practical interpretations the provisions containing the recognition have received. The Constitution provides for the representation in Congress of persons not free. It provides for the delivery of persons held to service or labor and escaping therefrom, to the party to whom such labor or service is due. This was one of the fundamental compromises of the Constitution, and it was finally adopted in the Federal Convention over which Gen. Washington presided without a dissenting voice. The surrender of a slave, who has escaped from his master, is as much a duty as it is to yield obedience to any other provision which the Constitution has made for the general welfare and security. And yet it is not only evaded, but boldly violated and set at defiance by large numbers of the citizens of the non-

slaveholding States. Slaves are not only assisted when fleeing from servitude, but they are enticed away from their masters by emissaries sent among them to seduce them from their allegiance. I do not stop to inquire into the origin of slavery, its compatibility with natural law, or its influence on the social condition of a community. These are questions altogether foreign to the issue in hand. It is enough that slavery existed among us, here as well as at the South, when the Constitution was framed; that it is recognized and made the basis of certain political duties which we can no more evade or violate than we can throw off our allegiance to the government itself while claiming or enjoying its protection. We must take the Constitution as a whole, or reject it as a whole. We must remain in the Union and fulfill all the duties incident to it or go out of it. There is no middle course for honest men. Between these alternatives there can be no hesitation in the choice. I am sure I speak the feelings of every individual here when I say we are for the Union, and for a scrupulous fulfillment of all the duties and obligations it imposes on us. (Applause.) We are in favor of surrendering fugitive slaves, as enjoined by the Constitution. Fellow-citizens, we should go farther, and punish with the severest penalties all attempts to seduce slaves from their obedience, to disturb the peace, or interfere with the domestic arrangements and institutions of our sister States. ("Yes, yes.") This is not only an obligation, founded on those intuitive principles of natural justice which should find a response in every heart; but the surrender of fugitives is a conventional duty agreed on by our fathers as one of the conditions on which the government they framed was accepted by the thirteen original States, and put in operation for the common benefit. It is a duty we can not refuse to perform without repudiating the fundamental compact and committing an act of infidelity to the government and people of the United States.

I have thus far, fellow-citizens, looked at this question from our own point of view. Let us change positions with our Southern brethren, and see it from the point at which they stand. They are living in peace with their slaves, the latter contented, as a general rule, with their condition. No better proof of the fact can be adduced than the failure of the Harper's

Ferry inroad to seduce a single one from his allegiance. (Applause.) They find emissaries from the North coming among them to sow the seeds of dissension in their families, to excite their slaves to insurrection, to break up their homes, destroy the value of their property, and put their lives in peril. Is there a man within reach of my voice who can find fault with them for any measure of resentment with which these aggressions are repelled? ("No, no.") Would we ourselves submit to them peaceably, if our places were reversed? ("No, no.") No, fellow-citizens, they are wrongs not to be patiently endured—wrongs, under the sting of which even the horrors of disunion may be fearlessly encountered as an alternative, with which, if all else be lost, honor and self-respect may be preserved. (Applause.)

I desire to put this question on the single ground of duty to our fellow-citizens in other States, and to the common compact by which our reciprocal relations are governed and defined. I should be very sorry, in a question of duty, to think it necessary to appeal to any considerations of a lower character. But it is right to look to the interest we have in the preservation of the Union, in order to understand with what fatal effect these assaults on the slaveholding States may rebound on us. I do not believe there is to be found in any other section of the country an equal number of people who would be more disastrously affected by a separation of the States than the million of inhabitants who live in and around this city. It is the great emporium of the Union, the centre of its commercial and financial transactions, the focal point, from which the chief currents of business radiate for the distribution of the necessaries of life, and to which they re-flow with the surpluses of our productive labor. Every year makes it more manifest that the time is not far distant when it will become the financial centre, not of this continent alone, but of the commercial world. The great mart of a continent lying midway between Europe and Asia, it must ere long draw to itself the exchanges of both, and become the common medium for the adjustment of commercial balances. Nothing is wanting to accomplish this result but a communication which shall place New York and San Francisco within ten days of each other, and this can not be long postponed. It is only as the

commercial and financial centre of a united empire on this continent that New York can maintain her pre-eminence. A blow struck at the Union through the vitals of another State is a blow struck at her prosperity, I had almost said at her very existence. (Applause.) Let us bear these things in mind —not as incentives to the performance of a duty, not to strengthen obligations which the Constitution makes imperative, and which, with honest men, can derive no additional efficacy from considerations of self-interest—but to enforce on us the conviction that the cause of the Southern States in this issue is our cause, that infidelity to them is not only infidelity to the Constitution and to all the dictates of honor and good faith, but infidelity to ourselves and to the noble city which looks to us for the vindication of her national character, and for the assertion of her loyalty to the Union. (Great applause.)

I wish, fellow-citizens, that those who are accustomed to talk lightly and flippantly of disunion, would tell us how some of the problems a separation of the States would bring with it, are to be solved in practice. Where shall the Eastern and Western line between the two great Northern and Southern empires be drawn? Would dissolution stop there, or should we have an Eastern and a Western empire, with a Northern and Southern line between them? How would the common property and the common indebtedness of the political association be divided between the dissolving partners? Look at the condition of your credit in the stock markets of the Old World. Your government securities bear a higher price on the great exchanges and *bourses* of most of the European states than their own. Who would become the sponsors for their redemption, or should they be shamelessly discredited, and the ignominy of repudiation be superadded to the sickening catalogue of evils which would follow in the train of disunion? (Applause.) How long would the dissevered States remain at peace with each other? Not, in all probability, a single year. The very act of separation, founded, as it would be, on a sense of injustice and injury, would be a virtual declaration of inextinguishable hostility and hatred. It would be the signal of collision and conflict, which would have no end till one of the parties should be subjected to the other; and with the proud

spirit of our countrymen, this issue would never be reached till the fields, which have been consecrated by the common toils and perils of Washington and Greene, and Marion and Gates ("Good," and cheers), and made glorious by their valor, had been stained again and again by fraternal blood. But, fellow-citizens, I turn away from all these loathsome pictures of disunion. Like the statistics of mortality, they would be but the gloomy records of disease and death. Although the political horizon is overspread with darkness, I look with confidence for returning light. (Applause.) I believe that nine tenths of the citizens of the non-slaveholding States condemn the outrage at Harper's Ferry and all expressions of sympathy with its authors. (Great applause.) They regard it as a blow struck at the Constitution and the Union. (Renewed applause.) We are here so to declare it, and to denounce it as disorganizing, incendiary, and nefarious. (Loud applause.) Some of the evils it has caused—the bloodshed and domestic disturbance—have been expiated by the punishment of its authors. For that which remains—the ill-feeling and distrust —the remedy is in our own hands. Let us pledge ourselves to a faithful discharge of the obligations the Constitution imposes upon us. Let us meet with scrupulous fidelity the engagements entered into with our sister States—engagements sanctioned by Washington and Franklin, and Madison and Adams, and their illustrious associates—engagements we have ourselves assumed by accepting the Constitution, and which we tacitly acknowledge every day and every hour by living under its protection. In a word, let us do what justice and good faith demand. Then may we hope, with the confidence a consciousness of rectitude imparts, that the dark clouds which hover over us will be dispersed, and, with the favor of that Divine Providence which has carried us in safety through all the dangers of the past, that the sunlight of union and harmony will revisit us, to be withdrawn no more. (Applause.)

Fellow-citizens, on the 14th of June, 1777, less than a year after the Declaration of Independence, the flag above us was adopted by the Federal Congress as the banner under which the armies of the Revolution were to be marshaled for conflict. (Applause.) They resolved "that the flag of the United States be thirteen stripes, alternate red and white: that the

union be thirteen stars, white in a blue field, representing a new constellation." Three quarters of a century and more have gone by, and the constellation is no longer new. But the thirteen stars are all there, undiminished and undimmed, and with them twenty others of equal magnitude. (Loud cheering.) During the eighty-two years that banner has floated over us, no act of national dishonor or injustice has stained it. (Applause.) It has never gone to the battle-field except for the redress of wrong. (Renewed applause.) No armies have been enrolled under it to carry on wars of ambition, cupidity or aggression. It has never been trailed in the dust by foreign enemies (great applause), or torn down by fratricidal hands among ourselves. (Immense cheering.) Shall it be soiled and dishonored now by fanaticism and by foul conspiracies against the peace and the integrity of the Union? ("No, no.") Swear it.

Voices.—"We do. Long may it wave."

Shall the constellation of 1777 be exploded by domestic conflict, to be seen no more among the nations, like lost stars, which, in the lapse of ages, have faded out of the firmament above us? No, fellow-citizens, no matter whether that banner, dear to every patriotic heart, be assailed by enemies from without or traitors within, let us uphold and defend it as the representative of the embodied sovereignty of the thirty-three States, and the sign of their common allegiance; and, with the blessing of God, it shall continue, through centuries to come, to be borne aloft, with every star still blazoned on its azure field—THE TRIUMPHANT EMBLEM OF UNION AND FRATERNITY, PROSPERITY AND POWER. (Loud and long-continued cheering.)

Mr. Dix's speech was interrupted by frequent applause, and at the close, he was tremendously cheered.

REMARKS OF PROFESSOR MITCHELL.

Amid loud calls for "Brooks, Brooks," and others, Prof. Mitchell was introduced. He said that he was born in Kentucky, and full blooded, as both his parents were born in Virginia. Although he had lived, he said, half a century, he had never opened his lips before in a popular assembly, but he came here to-night to lift his humble voice in behalf of his own mother; he did not desire her to be strangled and dragged in the dust. He had stood outside of party, and never voted a party ticket, but for the best men with the best principles. He did not deny that he was ambitious, but the political parties had long been such that he could not occupy any place anywhere in them. He denied the power of any present party man to give a fair independent vote. There were tens of thousands who never go to the polls, because an honest man could not come in competition with those who were unscrupulous in the means they use to gain power. We were a powerful people, and should extricate the country from its present predicament. But this could not be done through any present party organization. The yeomen of the soil did not understand this question of agitation, nor participate in it, neither did the workmen of the country. There was nothing to fear from them. It was the professed politicians who were to be feared. Now, what was it that turned out so many honest men to follow the lead of these trickstering politicians? Ask one of these young fellows why he carried the torch in the torch-light procession, and he will tell you nothing of what he is fighting for, except to secure the election of their candidate, whom he hardly knows by name. Now, all present admitted the country was in danger, or they would not have been here. But all they were doing for the Union would do no good, unless they went one step further, and gave proof of their faith by action. He would ask first, whether in this country the majority should rule? ("Yes, yes.") Would they agree to devote one day next year to their own interests and the interests of the country? ("Yes, yes.") But, my friends, said he, I want to know how many of you are candidates for office.

(Loud and prolonged laughter.) Then came the question, "Are you willing to abandon all hope of office for ten years?" (A voice—"Ask the gentlemen on the stage." Loud applause and prolonged laughter.) For himself, he would pledge himself not to take office of any kind whatever in the country. Was there any one who would stand with him in such a pledge? (Cries of "Yes, yes.") Now the only way was to form a patriotic party, resolved to forego office for the good of his country. He had preached that doctrine for ten years, and organizations on such a basis would run like wild-fire. Of all those who take the most interest in elections there were not five per cent. who were not candidates for office, and such a state of things must be destroyed. In conclusion, he appealed to every man who cared anything for himself or family, or state or country, to make some such sacrifice as he proposed, which would give life and liberty to the whole civilized world.

Immediately after the conclusion of Professor Mitchell's speech, the two following resolutions were proposed and unanimously adopted, with applause:

Resolved, That in the present "crisis," the true "way to meet it" is, for the friends of the Constitution and the Union throughout all the land to convene Union meetings, and to form Union organizations, in the spirit and tone that called this meeting and have inspired its proceedings.

Resolved, That the Committee of Arrangements be authorized to correspond with such Union organizations as may be formed, and to take such measures as they may deem proper for the promulgation and maintenance of the principles of this meeting.

Amid loud cries for "Bethune," Rev. Dr. Bethune came forward and addressed the meeting.

SPEECH OF DR. BETHUNE.

I rise, sir, not because I have the presumption to think that I can preserve the attention of this vast assembly, after all the excellent things that they have heard this evening, at this late hour. But, sir, I come before this audience to show myself. (Great cheering.) Insignificant as I personally may be among the millions of this land, and weak in influence as my voice may be, when

that voice is called for, and there is a question where I stand, I wish to be reckoned with the Union now and forever. (Loud cheers.) Yes, sir, I love the Union, and when I say that, it is with the wish that if that Union is to perish, I may die first. (Applause.) And, sir, there are many things which have been said here this evening, with some of which I may frankly say I could not coincide. I am not going to read law to you, sir. It is not my province, and I must be excused from accepting the theology of some gentlemen who have invaded mine. (Laughter.) Sir, when I saw the call of this meeting, I said I must be there. ("Good.") Never have I attended a public meeting in any way political before in my life. (Cheers, and cries of "Good.") And I can say with a clear conscience that no man has ever heard me utter in public a single word of party politics. (Applause.) I belong to a higher service. (Renewed cheering.) I am, by my calling and my vows, a minister of the Gospel of Peace (cheers), and it is as a minister of peace that I am among you to-night. (Applause.) It is high time, when the pulpit is desecrated by appeals to the wildest fanaticism (loud cheers, and a remark, "The right man is in the right place this time!")—when men, by voice of ecclesiastics, are canonized because they have shown the pluck of a bull-dog with the bloodthirstiness of the tiger (applause)—it is high time, I say, that one who, humble as myself, believes that the Gospel is "Peace on earth and good-will toward man," should act upon his principles. (Loud applause.) I will not enter into any of the disputed questions that have been foisted into our meeting to-night. I have seen a discussion about the call of this meeting—that there was first one call, then it was altered for another call—that the same people who signed one could not have signed the other. I never read either one call or the other through (laughter); all I saw in the call was the word "Union" (continued cheering), and that was enough. (Renewed cheering.) I remember an honest Governor of Pennsylvania, whose ancestry was traceable in his broken speech, was appealed to for the pardon of a man who had murdered his wife, but the honest old man said, "What! pardon a man for such crime as that—a man who could take a woman, and promise to nourish and cherish, and den kill her? Vy, he ought to be 'shamed of himself." (Uproarious laughter and cheers.) So I say here to-night, if any man in getting up this meeting, or in coming to this meeting, has had a

thought of Democrat, or Republican, or Native American higher in his mind than Union, he ought to be ashamed of himself. (Loud applause.) Nor shall I have sympathy with him, except he repent in sackcloth and ashes. (Laughter and applause.) You talk of the Union being dissolved. Sir, there has been deep feeling in most of the speeches that I have heard this evening. They say *if* this Union is to be dissolved—*when* the Union is dissolved. Why, sir, that is what we logicians call an impossible hypothesis. (Laughter and applause.) The Union is *not* going to be dissolved. Do you remember, sir, that once in old Rome there was a gulf opened across the city; it was widening and widening, until it threatened to engulf the whole of that splendid capital, when one Marcus Curtius mounted his steed, fully armed and equipped, and rode toward the chasm, and leaped into it, a willing victim to save his Rome. Sir, should such a chasm happen in our Union, there is not one, but there are a hundred Curtii—a hundred times ten thousand—that are willing to leap into it. Divide the Union! Where are you going to divide the line? (A voice—"Mason and Dixon's line.") Mason and Dixon's fiddlesticks! (Loud laughter.) Do you want to go? Which side do you mean to go? I know where I should go. It would be with that section which holds fastest to the Constitution as it is. (Loud cheers.)

Sir, if any man has a right to be proud of his native place, perhaps it is the man who speaks to you, for I was born in New York. But, sir, what is New York? What is the North? What is the South? What is the East? What is the West? Take away this Union, and we are nothing—worse than nothing—a conflicting, jostling chaos of rude, crumbling fragments. It is not for me to enter into this question; but, I repeat, where will you draw a line? Will you split the Mississippi? Try it. Are you going to divide by the assumed or imputed evil of Slavery. Where does Slavery stop? They grow cotton at the South, but where do they manufacture it? (Tremendous cheering.) I beg your pardon, but I have not time to be cheered. I have read a story of Cook, the drunken player, who once, in Liverpool, came upon the stage to act, and his condition being evident when he approached the footlights, they hissed him. His indignation restored him for a moment, and he looked at the Liverpudlians as he called them, saying, "You hiss George Frederick Cook, you people of Liverpool, with the sweat and blood of

the slave between every two bricks of your house?" It was so. There never was a slave in Liverpool, if I remember, but they profited by the slave. They bought and sold him. Yes, sir, there exists, if I mistake not, in the Plate Room of Windsor Castle, a splendid service of gold, given to one of the royal dukes by Liverpool merchants, for his efforts to prevent the abolition of the slave trade. But I wander from my purpose, in recalling that historical reminiscence, which was to say, that, in some sections of our land, where the loudest cry is heard upon this question, men have grown rich upon the manufacture of the cotton which was grown by these slaves (loud cheers); that the blood and the sweat of the slave is between every two bricks of their sumptuous palaces. Now, people may call this what they please; I call it hypocrisy. (Tremendous cheers.) Where will you draw this line? I will tell you where you must draw it. If you draw it at all, you must draw it across and through our dearest affections. We are one people. The man who lives on the Aroostook has his brother on the Rio Grande. The Northern mother has given her child to the Southern planter, and the Southern planter bows in thankfulness to God for the daughter of the North to cheer his home. (Loud cheers.) Will you dissolve *this* Union? (Cries of "No, no," and cheers.)

I tell you, you need not ask the question. You can not—you can not. It will be far better than the Sabines and the Romans. You have not taken violently the women of the South to be your wives. You have exchanged consanguinity. You can not separate them. What God hath joined together let no man put asunder. (Prolonged applause, the whole assembly, on the platform, floor, and galleries all rising, waving hats, cheering, and shouting in wild enthusiasm.) A word or two more. I will not say that I have said all I wish to say. (Cries of "Go on, go on!") There are many things which I could say, and in another condition of circumstances might be glad to say, which I shall not inflict upon you now. This is not a time for dry metaphysics. But I believe, sir, that we inherit from our fathers some degree of that honesty and truth for which they were distinguished, and for which their God and our God blessed them. Our fathers made the compact of this Union—our fathers made the Constitution as the mighty bond that should hold it together. And I have one belief, that this gift has of itself proven, with its checks, its balances, and its securities so good, that any alteration would be for the worse—(cheers, and cries

of "Good!")—that it contains within itself a perfect remedy for every evil, if our people will faithfully apply it and wait for the operation of the remedy. (Cheers.) There is, therefore, no room for revolution in this country; and it may be said of all those who hesitate about its principles—he that doubteth, is worthy of condemnation. (Cheers.) But, sir, why should we not keep to this, our fathers' faith? We should know that we are bound by that deed. Has it not been in the faith of that compact that this country has grown to its present prosperity, and shall we, the inheritors of all the blessings, break the vows of even political baptism, which, as our sponsors, they made for us? No, no! Let us keep this. Let all our people learn that they are bound by ties which none can break. The bones which are how moldering to kindred dust are sacred with the memories of their patriotism. We should be violaters of the vows they made if we suffer one stone of the Union reared by them to be pulled down. Sir, I agree in many respects with my good friend the Professor, who spoke before me, and I have great regard for him, but I can not help thinking that he got among the stars to-night. (Laughter.) I believe in a a system of government which is maintained by working men, men who work in their primary meetings, and who are not afraid of geting their coats torn by a rowdy? men who are willing to take their places and scuffle if it be necessary, to see that the voice of the people is attained. (Cheers and applause.) Men who, if their countrymen call them to office, do not mistake cowardice for modesty, and refuse to serve. No matter where the man is, there he should be faithful to God, faithful to man, faithful to his country, faithful to the world. I am thankful that I can not be a candidate for office. I once held an office under the general government, and I was offered another. The other I did not like (laughter), but the first I did. It kept me five hours, and I was allowed my expenses as emolument. But as there was no omnibus riding in that direction, I did not get a sixpence. I am no candidate for office, sir, I belong to a king. I am a monarchist. I belong to another king—one Jesus. (Applause.) But I know no greater recreant to the principles of his faith, and no more dangerous agitator than he, who, under the pretense of serving the religion of Christ, uses his sacred office to urge men into riot and sedition. (Cheers.) I am no candidate for office, because I hold an office so high that no other on earth can approach it. I am content with

my lot—content to be simply a preacher of the Gospel of Jesus, and ask no higher reward than to help men toward heaven when they die, and keep them in peace while they live on earth. But, sir, there is one thing I never neglect to do, and that is, I do not forget, because I am a Christian and a minister of the gospel, that I am an American citizen; I always vote; I prepare my ballot with the same conscientiousness, and for which my friends frequently laugh at me, as if I thought my ticket was to elect. This is the way, I think, we ought to work; and one thing is certain, that, if I retain my reason—which God grant I may—I will never vote for any man, be he Democrat, Whig, Native, or—or—or—what do you call him? (A voice—"Republican.") I beg pardon, that class have had so many names that I can not recall them at once. (Loud laughter.) I say I never will vote for any man, no, not if he were my own brother, not if he lay with me in my mother's womb, as did Esau with Jacob, on whose history, or antecedents, or associations there is the slightest stain or suspicion of DISUNION. (Tumultuous cheering, long and enthusiastic, and repeated.) I know a man may make a mistake and repent. The drunkard may reform from drink. Very well, let him reform—but keep the brandy bottle out of his way. I would not give him a chance to relapse. I believe that this is a true rule. Vote for a man who loves his country, and who shows he has good sense and considers what his country's good is.

Talk of incendiary documents. The most incendiary document is a thing that wears a coat and breeches, writes "Honorable" before his name and "M.C." after it (laughter), and goes to Washington to do anything else than take care of the people and the whole people. Let us stick to this, sir.

And while the grass grows on the hill,
  And the stream runs through the vale,
May they still keep their faith,
  Nor in their covenant fail.
God keep the fairest, widest land
  That lies beneath the sun,
Our country, our whole country,
  Our country ever one. (Loud cheering.)

The great meeting then adjourned—about ten minutes before midnight—with a volley of cheers.

OUTSIDE OF THE ACADEMY.

The gathering in the street was immense, the crowd numbering about fifteen thousand. In Union Square two large bonfires were lighted at an early hour, and a six-pounder thundered forth its salute, drawing a large crowd about the statue of Washington. Three stands were erected in the vicinity of the Academy, hung with lights, and in care of a committee. The first was located over the Academy walk, and a meeting was organized about seven o'clock, by appointing C. W. Moore, President.

John Goulde was the first speaker who addressed the assemblage. His remarks were brief, and at the conclusion he was followed by Judge Dean, of this city. Paul P. Bradley, J. C. Merritt, Philip Tomelsen, and others, followed, the speaking being continued until a late hour.

At the second stand, located on the opposite side of the street, a similar demonstration was manifested. E. D. J. Brown was called upon to preside, after which a series of resolutions were read and adopted in support of the Union. Speeches were made by Mr. John F. Jones, Judge Vanderpoel, Mr. Grandville, and others. Their remarks were greeted with frequent applause.

At the third stand, stationed at Irving Place, the crowd numbered about two thousand. Here the meeting was called to order about half-past seven o'clock. Gen. John Lloyd was appointed president, and J. B. Wilkes, secretary. Speeches were made by Mr. Jonas T. Drumgold, D. W. Savage, J. F. McSweeny, Gen.

Lloyd, Col. Armstrong, Henry J. Irving, and John L. Riker followed, all strongly denouncing John Brown and his followers, and supporting the Union.

Had there been other stands, there is no doubt but that speakers could have been found to cover the whole street. Considerable feeling was exhibited among the crowd, and there was nothing but one continued cheering throughout the whole evening.

Letters Received.

The following are the letters announced as having been received from distinguished citizens who were unable to attend.

LIEUT.-GEN. SCOTT'S LETTER.

New York, *Dec.* 17, 1859.

To the Hon. J. W. Beekman, Chairman, etc., etc.:

Sir—I have the honor to acknowledge your invitation to be present at the Union meeting to be held in this city on Monday next, for the holy purpose of allaying the distrust which is now sowing discord among brethren.

After a long life spent in devotion to the glorious Union which has already made us great among the nations of the earth, and which, if happily preserved with all its compromises and compacts, can not fail to make us first among the great, your Committee does me but justice in assuming that I feel the liveliest sympathy in the object of the meeting. This city is certainly in the right to take the lead in the cause of conciliation; and, animated by like patriotic sentiments, there are, I am confident, in every State a vast majority of citizens who, in any serious outbreak, would be found ready to join in the national cry, "The Union—it must and shall be preserved." Except in such a case, I beg to decline, as I have now done for many years, taking part in any public meeting—remaining a minute man with the great reserve of millions. I have the honor to be, with great respect,

Your fellow-citizen, WINFIELD SCOTT.

LETTER FROM EX-PRESIDENT VAN BUREN.

Lindenwald, *Dec.* 17, 1859.

Gentlemen—I have received the invitation to attend the Union meeting, to be held at the Academy of Music, in the city of New York, with which you have been pleased to honor me.

Although, since my retirement from the Presidency, I have declined to attend political meetings of every description, I would not hesitate to make

yours an exception, on account of its freedom from partisan views, and as an evidence of my appreciation of the high and sacred objects it is designed to promote, if it were in my power to be with you, which, I regret to say, it will not be.

Fully concurring in the views you have taken in respect to the existing crisis in our national affairs, I can only express my earnest hope that this great State will meet it in a way which will remove all doubts from the minds of our brethren of the slaveholding States that the great body of her people regard with unmixed abhorrence the crimes of John Brown and his confederates, and that they will cordially approve of the adoption, as well by our own constituted authorities as by those of the general Government, of adequate measures to prevent the recurrence of future outrages of like character.

Accept, gentlemen, my sincere thanks for the gratifying expression in your letter, and believe me, with anxious wishes for the success of your most commendable efforts, respectfully, your friend and obedient servant,

M. VAN BUREN.

Messrs. Barlow, Hunt, and Brooks, Committee, etc.

LETTER FROM EX-PRESIDENT FILLMORE.

Buffalo, *Dec.* 16, 1859.

Gentlemen—Your letter of the 13th reached me yesterday, inclosing a call for a public meeting in New York city, headed

"*The North and the South—Justice and Fraternity,*"

and inviting me to be present on the occasion. As no time is specified, I hasten to respond by saying that the objects of the meeting have my most hearty approval, but I have long since withdrawn from any participation in politics beyond that of giving my vote for those whom I deem the best and safest men to govern the country; and I have uniformly, since I was at the head of the government, declined all invitations to attend political meetings; yet, in view of the present stormy aspect and threatening tendency of public events, did I feel that my presence at your meeting could in the least tend to allay the growing jealousy between the North and the South, I should, at some personal inconvenience, accept your invitation, and cordially join you in admonishing the country, North and South, to mutual forbearance toward each other; and to cease crimination and recrimination on both sides, and endeavor to restore again that fraternal feeling and confidence which have made us a great and happy people.

But it seems to me that if my opinions are of any importance to my countrymen, they now have them in a much more responsible and satisfactory form than I could give them by participating in the proceedings of any

meeting. My sentiments on this unfortunate question of slavery, and the constitutional rights of the South in regard to it, have not changed since they were made manifest to the whole country by the performance of a painful official duty in approving and enforcing the Fugitive Slave Law. What the Constitution gives I would concede at every sacrifice. I would not seek to enjoy its benefits without sharing its burthens and its responsibilities. I know of no other rule of political right or expediency. Those were my sentiments then—they are my sentiments now. I stand by the Constitution of my country at every hazard, and am prepared to maintain it at every sacrifice.

Here I might stop; but since I have yielded to the impulse to write, I will not hesitate to express, very briefly, my views on one or two events which have occurred since I retired from office, and which in all probability have given rise to your meeting. This I can not do intelligibly without a brief reference to some events which occurred during my administration.

All must remember, that in 1849 and 1850, the country was severely agitated on this disturbing question of *slavery*. That contest grew out of the acquisition of new territory from Mexico, and a contest between the North and the South as to whether slavery should be tolerated in any part of that territory. Mixed up with this, was a claim on the part of the slaveholding States, that the provision of the Constitution for the rendition of fugitives from service should be made available, as the law of 1793 on that subject, which depended chiefly on State officers for its execution, had become inoperative, because State officers were not obliged to perform that duty.

After a severe struggle, which threatened the integrity of the Union, Congress finally passed laws settling these questions, and the government and the people for a time seemed to acquiesce in that *compromise* as a final settlement of this exciting question; and it is exceedingly to be regretted that mistaken ambition or the hope of promoting a party triumph should have tempted any one to raise this question again. But in an evil hour this Pandora's box of slavery was again opened by what I conceive to be an unjustifiable attempt to force slavery into Kansas by a repeal of the Missouri Compromise, and the flood of evils now swelling and threatening to overthrow the Constitution, and sweep away the foundation of the government itself, and deluge this land with fraternal blood, may all be traced to this unfortunate act. Whatever might have been the motive, few acts have ever been so barren of good, and so fruitful of evil. The contest has exasperated the public mind, North and South, and engendered feelings of distrust, and I may say, hate, that I fear it will take years to wear away. The lamentable tragedy at Harper's Ferry is clearly traceable to this unfortunate controversy about slavery in Kansas, and while the chief actor in this criminal invasion has exhibited some traits of character that challenge our admiration, yet his fanatical zeal seems to have blinded his moral perceptions, and hurried him into an unlawful attack upon the lives of a peaceful and unoffending community in a sister State, with the evident intention of raising a servile insurrection, which no one can contemplate without horror: and few, I believe very few, can be found so indifferent to the consequences of his acts,

or so blinded by fanatical zeal, as not to believe that he justly suffered the penalty of the law which he had violated. I can not but hope that the fate of John Brown and his associates will deter all others from any unlawful attempt to interfere in the domestic affairs of a sister State. But this tragedy has now closed, and Virginia has vindicated the supremacy of her laws, and shown that she is quite competent to manage her own affairs and protect her own rights. And thanks to an overruling Providence, this question about slavery in Kansas is now also settled, and settled in favor of freedom. The North has triumphed, and having triumphed, let her, by her magnanimity and generosity to her Southern brethren, show that the contest on her part was one of principle, and not of personal hatred, or the low ambition of a sectional triumph.

Finally, if I had the power to speak, and there were any disposed to listen to my counsel, I would say to my brethren of the South: Be not alarmed, for there are few, very few, at the North, who would justify in any manner an attack upon the institutions of the South which are guaranteed by the Constitution. We are all anti-slavery in sentiment, but we know that we have nothing to do with it in the several States, and we do not intend to interfere with it. And I would say to my brethren of the North: Respect the rights of the South; assure them by your acts that you regard them as friends and brethren. And I would conjure all, in the name of all that is sacred, to let this agitation cease with the causes which have produced it. Let harmony be restored between the North and the South, and let every patriot rally around our national flag, and swear upon the altar of his country to sustain and defend it. I am, with great respect, your obedient servant,

MILLARD FILLMORE.

Messrs. Samuel L. M. Barlow, Wilson G. Hunt, and James Brooks, Committee, etc.

LETTER FROM EX PRESIDENT PIERCE.

Hartford, Conn., *Dec. 17th*, 1859.

Gentlemen—I have only time, before the departure of the next mail, to acknowledge the reception of your note of yesterday, and to express regret that it is not in my power to join the great assemblage of patriotic citizens who will throng the Academy of Music on Monday evening.

It would be a great relief to believe that you over-estimate the dangers which threaten the continued union of these States or the urgency of the occasion, which, to use your own language, calls upon us all to "solemnly pledge ourselves, from this hour, by our influence, our example, our votes, and by every other proper means, to discountenance and oppose *sectionalism* in all its forms."

It can hardly be necessary to say that to this noble resolve I give my can-

did approval and earnest support. Let us hope that those who profess to love the Union, whether present at your meeting or absent, will unite with you in spirit, and make their action a prompt and manly response to your declared sentiments and purposes. Thus and thus only may we re-establish with our Southern brethren the relations which existed through so many peaceful, happy, and prosperous years between their fathers and ours—relations *with* which this Union is incomparably above all earthly blessings, and without which it can not be preserved, and, I may add, would not be worth preserving. Will an overmastering public opinion, stronger than fanaticism, whether the latter assist the Constitution and obedience to law from the pulpit, the platform, or the press, assert and maintain, in a crisis like this the supremacy of its power and authority? The Empire City and Empire State have great responsibilities involved in this question.

You surmount *the clasped hands* over the public call which you inclosed to me, with the words "justice and fraternity." They are suggestive, significant, and in the right order. Between political communities, as between individuals, there can be no fraternity without justice. But what does justice enjoin? Clearly, that if we will enjoy the benefit which the Constitution confers, we must fulfill the obligations which it imposes?

How strange is it that, with truths so obvious and obligations so undeniable, a large portion of our people should practically and habitually deny their authority! We can not go on in this way. The present *States* can no, be maintained. The condition of affairs must, of necessity, soon become a great deal better or a great worse. The causes which are stirring the hearts and minds of our people everywhere are at this moment instinct with force and working with unwonted energy. It may be easy for those, who have never slept an hour the less because treason was abroad, who have never incurred a personal sacrifice nor encountered a personal danger for their country, to assure us of tranquil serenity. But of what value is such assurance? It is vain to avert our eyes from dangers which are patent. Thoughtful men can not do it if they would; and in view of the state of things now presented to them, they ought not to desire to patch up a temporary pacification, to be disturbed, it may be, by a more serious cause, under circumstances of more alarming aggravation.

If we will enjoy repose and security ourselves, and if we will give repose and security to others, we must return not merely to the opinion and doctrines of the Revolutionary fathers of the North and of the South, but we must cultivate their sentiments, emulate their comprehensive patriotism, and imitate their just and manly example. They gave no countenance to the heresies of sectionalism. They lent no listening ear to denunciations of the people and institutions of one half of the States of the confederation. They never turned aside from curiosity, or from any motive less worthy, to listen to the preaching of treason against the Constitution and the Union. No. Far from it. Having fought the battles of Independence—having framed the Constitution, and secured its adoption, they addressed themselves to a duty, if possible, still higher. They obeyed the common bond, and they cherished the common brotherhood.

Is not such an example, baptized in blood and signally blessed of God through these eighty years of our history, one safe for us to follow?

Your fellow-citizen and friend,

FRANKLIN PIERCE.

S. L. M. Barlow, Wilson G. Hunt, Sub-Committee, City of New York.

LETTER FROM THE HON. D. S. DICKINSON.

Binghamton, *December 17th*, 1859.

Sir—I have this day received your invitation of yesterday, in behalf of the Committee of which you are a member, to attend the meeting at the Academy of Music, in New York city, on Monday, called to denounce the late violations of law at Harper's Ferry, and to declare an unalterable purpose to stand by the Constitution in all its parts, etc. I approve of the object expressed, and would most gladly attend, but the late day at which your invitation was sent does not permit me. The last day-train of cars which would enable me to reach New York in season will soon pass here, and I can not consistently arrange my business to leave upon so short a notice.

But while I shall, much to my regret, be deprived of the pleasure of meeting the patriotic assembly, my absence will not be material, for there has been, in my judgment, *speaking* enough on the subject, and quite too much in proportion to the *acting*. The subject is by no means a new one to me, and I have nothing to say upon it, except what I said years since, in a responsible position; but perhaps some of the sentiments will bear repeating. Although recent events have aroused the public mind from its lethargy, they have rather revived than increased the alarms which I have long experienced for the security of our institutions, and quickened, in the same manner, the indignation which I have long felt for all violators of law and disturbers of the public peace. The peace of the Southern people depends upon the peace of the existing relations between the races, and they can not be expected to submit tamely to that officious and offensive interference which destroys and degrades them.

This nefarious sectional spirit can never be arrested by mere public gatherings, by well-wrought figures of rhetoric, nor by pæans to the glorious Union, for all these have been stereotyped and set to music, and recited and repeated by good performers; but, if we would have peace, we must do justice with a practical hand—we must *act* as well as *talk*, and extract and crush out forever the insidious worm which grows like a canker at the very root of the Constitution. We must attend to our own concerns, take care of our disturbers, and leave other States, in all that relates to their domestic policy, "free and independent."

The Southern States are numerically the weaker, but they are so because Virginia, the prolific mother of States and patriotism, voluntarily ceded the great Northwest, now forming a large portion of the "free North," to the general government, for the benefit of all. The institution of domestic slavery, which exists with them, is from its nature and interest peculiarly sensitive, and before we can do them or ourselves justice, we must take our standpoint with them, and feel what they have felt, and bear what they have borne; we must see that the Colonies, in casting off the tyrannous exactions of the British Crown, were baptized in blood at their birth, as "free and independent States," and that the Constitution which united these States was framed and adopted, as declared in its preamble, "to form a more perfect Union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessing of liberty to ourselves and our posterity." How far one portion of the States has treated another as *free* and *independent*, and under the practice of the last few years, how far justice has been established, domestic tranquillity insured, or the general welfare promoted in the relations of States with each other, let impartial history answer.

Scarcely had we completed emancipation in our own States, before a clamor was raised for the repeal of the law permitting the citizens of other States, passing through this State, or sojourning in it, upon business or pleasure, for nine months, to bring with them the servants of their household, and retain them and return with them, and the act was repealed without advantage to a single human being, in derogation of State comity and good faith, in a spirit of menace and hostility, in violation of all social propriety and commercial interest and commerce.

Churches, North and South, which had long formed a strong band of Union in their general associations, and had taken sweet counsel together, in their conferences and organizations, became severed. The serpent of sectional discord had crawled into this Eden, where songs of redeeming grace and dying love were sung by children of a common Father together, when if there had been one single spot on earth exempt from the influences of this fell sectional spirit, it should have been there; and representatives from free States, with true pharisaical sanctity, thanked God that they were not as other men, and dissolved the connection, because of the great sin of slavery!

Publications for many years have been sown like dragons' teeth over the land, calculated and intended to disturb the relations between master and slave—societies have been organized and endowed—funds raised and accumulated, arms and deadly weapons and munitions have been gathered together in buildings consecrated to the service of the Almighty, to crusade against slaveholders.

Pulpits have been desecrated to the base service of sectionalism; missionaries have been sent forth to war upon slavery; strong combinations for the stealing and running off of slaves, and to prevent the reclamation of fugitives, have been formed; personal liberty bills, to defeat federal laws and override the Constitution, have been passed; all right of equality, in theory or in practice, in the common property of the Union, has been denied them,

and one incessant tone of denunciation has been heaped upon slavery, and slave States, and slaveholders, from one end of the free States to the other, until it has become incorporated into our whole system. It has not only furnished the virus for party inflammation in our political contests, where demagogues furnish the staple, and ignorance, and prejudice, and passion, and fanaticism construct the fabric, but it enters largely into our religious and social organizations.

Last, though not least, comes the foray of John Brown at Harper's Ferry, ushered in with stealth, fraud, robbery, murder, treason, and attempted insurrection. This miserable man and his associates have paid the highest human penalty for crime, and were it not for those who are as guilty as himself, but less manly and courageous, his ashes might rest in peace. But his history remains, and when it is attempted to invest it with saintly and brave and heroic virtues, the truth should be told, even though we would be gladly spared the recital. His course in Kansas was marked by every species of wrong and violence, his pathway can be traced by bloody footprints along his whole career, from theft to murder. He went to the neighborhood of his exploits under a false name, and gathered arms and implements wherewith to enable infuriated blacks, if he could arouse them, to murder master and mistress, and children, and the peaceful, unsuspecting inhabitants generally; and then, at the dark and silent hour of midnight, when not even the pale moon and trembling stars looked out, when honest men were sleeping, when thieves and murderers prowl, and evil hearts roam for their prey, the assassin whet his knife and brandished his bloody pike, and murdered the unsuspecting and defenseless; and for this, his crime is invested with romance and sugared over with panegyric, and he is called brave and heroic by those whose evil counsel and more evil sentiments urged him on, and by those who furnished the sinews for this unnatural and wicked war. What would have been a dastardly murder in others, was heroism in him, and the sentimental struggle for the privilege of clasping his hand, yet dripping with the blood of his victims; anti-slavery woman, gentle, kind, and virtuous, passed by all other sorrow and destitution and suffering, that she might be permitted to go to the felon's cell and nurse the murderer who had sought to arm and turn loose at midnight the ignorant, and lawless, and licentious upon her terrified, shrieking, and defenseless sex.

He has been canonized by the blasphemous orgies of those who demand an anti-slavery Bible and an anti-slavery God, as a second St. John in the wilderness of Harper's Ferry, who was to prepare the way for their grim deity, and make his paths straight, by an "underground railroad." When the culprit, after a fair, impartial, and patient trial, had been condemned, and was expiating his crimes, bells were tolled, minute-guns were fired, and gatherings were invoked, as though the spirit of a patriot or a sage was about to pass from earth to heaven, and it was declared that the gallows would henceforward be more glorious than the cross and crucifixion; and could he have been executed *between two* of these instigators and apologists, it certainly would have borne *one* resemblance to that event, and *but one only*.

His unfortunate family are now made the recipients of a noisy, ostenta-

tious, and vulgar charity, that the mischief of his example may be increased and perpetuated, when, had relief to them have been the object, no such parade-day would have signalized it.

The people of the Southern States have *felt*, and that most deeply, what every reflecting and patriotic mind has *seen*, and they have a right to demand, and will demand of us, not mere lip-service, but a practical fulfillment of constitutional obligations, that we retract and repeal our hostile legislation, that we return fugitives from service, and that we meet them in the true fraternal spirit of constitutional equality. This we must do, and *do* promptly, and when it is done we shall again witness pacific relations.

The Federal Government is bound to protect each of the States against invasion; and if forays and armed bands from one section are to hover upon the borders of States, for the purpose of invading their territory, to murder their citizens, destroy their property, and subvert their government, the State thus menaced and assailed, however powerful and ample in her own resources, may demand the security provided, and that with propriety, *though no amount of force can ever maintain the Union.*

This sectional strife, as wicked as it is wanton and disgraceful, if permitted to proceed, can not fail to produce more serious consequences than it has ever foreshadowed; and when its votaries shall have subverted all constitutions and all laws, except such as conform to their own mad standard, they must close their career of blood and violence, with knives at each other's throats, which have been blunted at the throats of honest men and their wives and children.

I have the honor to be, etc., sincerely yours,

D. S. DICKINSON.

Samuel L. M. Barlow, one of the Committee.

FROM THE HON. GEORGE BRIGGS.

House of Representatives, Washington, *Dec. 19th*, 1859.

To the Hon. James Brooks, and others, Committee, etc., New York:

Go on with the Union movement. All success to it. I approve of the call, and were I in New York I should be present at the meeting to-night. I am constrained to bear witness, by my vote at least, in the House of Representatives, for a National North in conjunction with a National South. I shall nevertheless give my heart to the New York Academy of Music during your demonstrations therein, purposed unalterably to stand by the Union, the Constitution in all its parts, as expounded by our supreme judiciary, and the enforcement of the laws—the platform for these times as laid down by that great Union leader, Henry Clay—and resolved inflexibly by my influence, my example, my votes, and by every other proper means, to discountenance and oppose sectionalism in all its forms. I am cordially with you, and may

add that, as a New York representative, I am greatly encouraged by so many of my fellow-citizens assuming a position corresponding with and sustaining my own. Its effect upon me is as that of light bursting through cloud and darkness, and will animate me as I pursue persistently, without the shadow of turning, the national course which I have chosen, while upon the country it must be decidedly salutary in quieting agitation and restoring confidence between sections. Again, therefore, I bid you success.

GEORGE BRIGGS.

LETTER FROM HON. D D. BARNARD.

ALBANY, *December 17th*, 1859.

SIR—Your letter of invitation to attend a "Union Meeting" at the Academy of Music, in New York, on Monday, was received at so late an hour to-day that I have only time to express my regret at my inability to attend that meeting, and my most hearty concurrence in its objects.

I rejoice in these public and timely manifestations now being made throughout the North, bringing out the true sentiment and the true loyalty of so large a portion of our common country, which has, for some time past, and of late more than ever, through the efforts of a partisan press and a prostituted pulpit, been made to wear too much the stamp and badge of an odious and dangerous sectionalism. I regard the condition of the country as specially critical from recent occurrences; and if the eternal warfare of words, tending, as events have shown, directly to a warfare of deeds, and the engendered spirit of deep animosity between portions of the people of the States of this Union, North and South, so long indulged and fomented, and never so hot and furious as now, can not be arrested, it is driveling folly to look for anything even in the near future, but the worst and most disastrous results.

I have the honor to be, sir, your fellow-citizen and servant,

D. D. BARNARD.

SAMUEL L. M. BARLOW, Esq., Chairman Sub-Committee.

Comments of the Press.

From the Journal of Commerce, 20th Dec., 1859.

The largest public meeting ever held in the city of New York, or on the American continent, took place last night, in and about the Academy of Music. The vast concourse was worthy of the cause—the noble one comprised in the single phrase, "Justice to the South." Long before six o'clock, before the business hours of the city were fairly over—before people had taken their dinner—a crowd began to assemble in Irving Place, or the western front of the Academy. As they arrived rapidly from every portion of the city, they took their places in front of the three great doors, and waited patiently, and in perfect order, for the opening of the house. The Third and Fourth Avenue cars, and all the lines of stages leading to the neighborhood of the Academy, were packed full of citizens, all going up or down for the same purpose—to aid, by their presence and voice, in this sublime spontaneous demonstration in behalf of the Constitution and the Union. Before six o'clock there were at least five thousand persons standing in Irving Place. This immense throng, though terribly squeezed together (each new comer on the outside contributing his weight and momentum to the general jam), was exceedingly quiet and well-behaved. Presently Noll's band, which was stationed in the balcony, commenced playing patriotic airs. The crowd were further entertained by the deep bass music of thirty guns, and by a very handsome pyrotechnic display under the direction of the Messrs. Edge. Among the fireworks was one superb and highly appropriate symbolical piece, representing "Union and Fraternity," with the American spread eagle soaring above.

Inside, on the stage, a beautiful scene had been prepared by the sub-committee on decorations. The great stage had been transformed into a gigantic tent of pure white, with a deep lower fringe of American flags, and gracefully curtained folds of the national colors in front. In the back ground was the single sentence—

"JUSTICE AND FRATERNITY."
WASHINGTON.

Upon a broad, white banner, stretching clean across the stage, near the ceiling, were the words :—

"Indignantly frowning upon the first dawning of every attempt to alienate any portion of our country from the rest, or to enfeeble the sacred ties which now link together the various parts." WASHINGTON.

Beneath this were the mottoes :

"The Union must and shall be preserved."
JACKSON.

"I shall stand upon the Constitution. I need no other platform." WEBSTER.

On the private boxes in front of the stage were exhibited the names of

JEFFERSON, JACKSON, WEBSTER,
CALHOUN, CLAY, WRIGHT, CHOATE, BENTON,
MADISON, MONROE.

The chairman's desk was draped with American flags.

Simultaneously with the rush in Irving Place, there was a lively squeeze at the stage-door in Fourteenth Street, by the fortunate

holders of officers' tickets. Most of these gentlemen came early, and long before six o'clock there were some half-dozen rows of the stage-chairs occupied. The large area behind the footlights, capable of accommodating nearly a thousand persons, was soon thronged with representatives of all classes of citizens. Doctors of divinity, merchant princes, eminent lawyers, farmers, manufacturers, dealers in all kinds of wares and fabrics, artisans and mechanics—all picked men, whose names are known all over the United States! Such a collection of representative men, illustrating all the interests of this great metropolis, was never seen together in this city, on any previous occasion.

About a quarter before seven, the Irving Place doors were opened, and the immense, long-compressed and aching crowd poured rapidly into the house. Of course, there was a great deal of struggling and jostling at the doors, and persons were lifted off their legs by the rushing throng behind, and sent through the doorways into the Academy, almost as if shot out of a gun. The crowd continued to be marvelously good-natured, and it is believed that no one was hurt in the scramble.

As the people poured into the building, they rapidly filled, first the parquette, then the first and second tiers of boxes, then the far-up family circle, and lastly the lofty amphitheatre. The seats were all taken in a few minutes, and then the aisles began to be crowded, and the entries and doorways, and every accessible nook and corner, and perch, of the house were soon occupied. Seen from the stage, the house, in all its vast and noble proportions, appeared to be completely filled. It seemed as if another man could not have been squeezed in anywhere. And this magnificent audience, numbering six thousand or seven thousand men, was small compared with the multitude who came too late to get in, and were obliged to remain outside.

Dodworth's Band, which was stationed on the stage, performed some excellent selections of music—among them the immortal airs of the nation, which were vociferously applauded.

The temper of the meeting throughout was most excellent. Although several thousand persons were obliged to stand, many of them in uncomfortable positions, during the entire evening, the monster audience was remarkably amiable, and easily controlled by the chairman. There probably never was a meeting which exhibited a better spirit, and was more united and intelligent in express-

ing its applause, which was invariably in the right place. All the good points of the speeches were quickly caught and fully appreciated. Applause, which at frequent intervals burst forth from the audience, had its repetition and echo in the cheers which were constantly sent up by the three distinct and immense meetings outside.

From the New York Express, 20th Dec., 1859.

Pursuant to the notification, the people of the city of New York, irrespective of party, turned out last evening in imposing numbers, not only *in*, but *outside* the Academy of Music, in Fourteenth Street, Irving Place, and Union Square. Long before the hour appointed for the meeting, crowds of citizens began to assemble, and as the evening drew on, every street and avenue was thronged with people hurrying to the common rendezvous. Soon the entire neighborhood was completely blocked up with a compact mass of human beings. Unavailable means of locomotion were used; the cars for up and down town were packed, and the omnibuses for once did a good business. In fact, from all parts of the great metropolis, and from over the two rivers, the multitude were on the march, as if all were animated by a common impulse. Bonfires blazed in the streets, serving as beacons to indicate, at once, the locality of the vast gathering, and to symbolize the enthusiasm which everywhere prevailed. Outside the building, on the balcony in Fourteenth Street, was an excellent band of music, which played several spirited airs, amidst the enthusiastic plaudits of the people.

THE SCENE INSIDE.

Inside the Opera House, the entire of the extensive stage was thrown open, the drop curtain having been raised and the proscenia removed, so as to render every foot of space available. In front of the stage were placed the tables for the members of the Press; immediately behind were seated the officers of the meeting, and a number of gentlemen, who took a prominent part in the proceedings. Still farther back was stationed Dodworth's Band, consisting

of thirty-three pieces, by which the meeting was enlivened before the organization by a variety of choice airs.

The stage and stage-boxes were decorated with a number of appropriate mottoes. In front, just before the drop curtain, was the following:

"Indignantly frowning upon the first dawning of every attempt to alienate any portion of our country from the rest, or to enfeeble the sacred ties which now link together the various parts."

"The Union must and shall be preserved." JACKSON.

"I shall stand upon the Constitution. I need no other Platform." WEBSTER.

"JUSTICE AND FRATERNITY." WASHINGTON.

Below the stage-boxes, to the right and left, were the following names:

CLAY, MONROE, CHOATE, MADISON.

JEFFERSON, WRIGHT, WEBSTER, BENTON.

THE ANXIETY TO GAIN ADMISSION.

On the opening of the doors of the Academy, there was a great rush on the part of the immense multitude, who had been waiting outside impatient for admission, and soon the entire house was filled from parquette to ceiling. There could not have been fewer than ten thousand persons present.

From the New York Express, 20th Dec., 1859.

THE GREAT MEETING A GREAT SUCCESS.—The august demonstration of the New York public, last night, we need not say at the Academy of Music, but in all the streets leading to or radiating

from it, we have but room and time to say here, surpassed the most sanguine anticipations even of those who never doubted it would be a great success. It was one of those grand events which will live on the page of history. Whether as regards numbers, spirit, honest enthusiasm, and downright genuine *feeling*, we think we speak within the bounds of moderation when we say, that *no such spectacle was ever witnessed in the commercial emporium before.* There was *heart* in it. It was all earnestness, from beginning to end. There was not the least color of party spirit about it; not the remotest symptom of a desire, that we could detect, on the part of any who took part in it, to convert it to the smallest political or personal account. And yet, it so happened, that men of all parties were there; men who, hitherto, have but seldom been seen in public together—and probably never on the same platform—but all animated, now, as if by a common desire to show mankind—for once—that when the Republic is in danger, her sons know how to come up, as one man, to the rescue. We can not think of a single important interest in all this vast metropolis which was not represented in the multitude, and which did not find free utterance on the stage inside, or on the platforms out in the open air.

There was no diversity of sentiment, no difference of opinion, in regard to the business in hand. Never did speakers and listeners seem to us to be so in accord, in demanding that the Union SHALL be preserved; that the Constitution, in all its parts, SHALL be faithfully executed; that the decisions of the Courts, in reference to the institution of slavery, SHALL be scrupulously respected; that such outrages as those of Harper's Ferry, SHALL be viewed and punished as crimes, against the North as well as the South; and that the idea of an "Irrepressible Conflict" between the two sections is held—as it ought to be held—in utter and unqualified abhorrence.

The moral effect of such a manifestation as this, on the part of the leading city of the Union, can not but result in much good. It will help to pour oil on the troubled waters; and while tending to calm the misgivings in the Southern mind, will do something to convince the demagogues of the North that there is a certain point beyond which the people are determined their atrocious doctrines shall not be pushed.

From the New York Herald, Dec. 20th, 1859.

The Union Meeting at the Academy of Music last night was an immense demonstration of the conservative sentiment of the metropolis. Not only was the capacious building completely filled, but in the adjoining streets several meetings were organized, while martial music, the roar of artillery, brilliant fireworks, and blazing bonfires added interest to the occasion and impressiveness to the scene. We give full reports of the proceedings, including the speeches of Charles O'Conor, Mayor Tiemann, Washington Hunt, James S. Thayer, and Professor Mitchell, and letters from Gen. Winfield Scott, ex-Presidents Fillmore, Van Buren, and Pierce, and other distinguished citizens.

From the New York Times, Dec. 20th, 1859.

The Union Meeting.—The Union Meeting last night was immensely large, decidedly enthusiastic, and entitled to weight and consideration as an expression of the substantial sentiment of the people of New York city concerning the Union, and those features of the Slavery agitation which threaten its peace. The general drift of the proceedings—speeches, letters, and resolutions—was in harmony with public sentiment in this city. Ex-Gov. Hunt rehearsed the political history of the country, and urged moderation and the calm exercise of reason and judgment in the political struggles of the day. Gen. Dix dwelt upon the responsibility of public men whose doctrines lead to such invasions as that at Harper's Ferry, and drew a picture of the ruin in which a dissolution of the Union would involve this city and the country at large. Mr. Thayer made, perhaps, the sharpest and most practical speech of the evening, though the tenor of its argument will be contested by the Republicans. He insisted that any party which makes opposition to Slavery the basis of its action, must, now that the territorial controversy is settled, run into Abolitionism, and make war upon the institutions and the rights of the Southern States.

The influence of the meeting will, doubtless, be hostile to the Republican Party, partly from the fact that the teachings and en-

deavors of that party were represented as leading directly to the invasion of Southern rights, and partly from the fact that the Republican organs have assumed this result in advance, and have labored, therefore, to make it certain. But apart from all party considerations, the meeting is entitled to respect, at the South as well as the North, as an expression of public sentiment in this city on the subject of the Union, and the influences that tend to disturb its peace, and ought to dispel the suspicion, if it has been entertained anywhere, that the people of this city are indifferent to the Union, or disposed to countenance or excuse any trespass upon the rights of the Southern States.

From the New York Times, Dec. 20th, 1859.

The grand demonstration of the citizens of New York in favor of Constitution and the Union, which had been announced for several days, took place last night at the Academy of Music. Long before the hour for meeting, the spacious Academy was thronged from pit to dome. Even in the spacious amphitheater every seat was occupied, and throughout the house standing room within hearing distance was eagerly sought. Not less than five thousand persons were assembled within the walls, and a number perhaps equally large congregated without, and listened to addresses from the different stands erected there.

The Academy had been appropriately decorated for the occasion. The Stars and Stripes hung in graceful folds about the stage, and at different points were mottoes and inscriptions, and the names of those who in the past had consecrated their lives to the formation and perpetuation of the institutions of our country. Among them were the following:

"Indignantly frowning upon the first dawning of every attempt to alienate any portion of our country from the rest, or to enfeeble the sacred ties which now link together the various parts."—WASHINGTON.

"The Union must and shall be preserved."—JACKSON.

"I shall stand upon the Constitution—I need no other platform."—WEBSTER.

JUSTICE AND FRATERNITY.
WASHINGTON.

JEFFERSON.	WEBSTER.	CLAY.	CHOATE.
MADISON.	JACKSON.	CALHOUN.	WRIGHT.
	BENTON.	MONROE.	

A salute of thirty-two guns was fired, and from the balcony of the Academy one branch of Dodworth's Band discoursed their music, while the other occupied a position on the platform within, and entertained the assemblage while it was gathering.

It would be useless to attempt to note, personally, the names of distinguished citizens present. From every profession, calling, and trade were present their highest representatives, and until near 12 o'clock, when the meeting adjourned, nearly all present remained, submitting to the discomforts of a crowded audience and inconvenience of situation.

Numerous delegations of citizens from other cities were present, and participated in the enthusiasm of the occasion, and throughout the proceedings were characterized by most perfect harmony and good feeling in favor of the object which had called the vast assemblage together.

From the New York Herald, Dec. 21st, 1859.

THE UNION MEETING—THE GREAT CONSERVATIVE MOVEMENT OF THE DAY.—The Union Meeting at the Academy of Music on Monday evening opens a new era in the political history of the country. It was the largest, the most enthusiastic, the most singular, and most instructive meeting ever held in New York. Some twenty thousand persons, of all ranks and parties, must have assembled in and around the building, the three outside meetings exceeding by far in numbers the meeting within. It was a grand and decisive demonstration as to the strength of the Union sentiment in this imperial city—the same sentiment which elected Fernando Wood Mayor of New York a fortnight before. It will have an important influence throughout the country, not only by kindling the flames of enthusiasm and suggesting similar meetings,

but on account of its practical character. It differs from all the Union meetings that have been previously held, both in what was said and what was done.

From the Journal of Commerce, Dec. 21st, 1859.

Enthusiasm.—Eloquent and earnest as were the speeches at the great Union meeting, they were not above the sentiments of the audience. No words could have expressed a loftier patriotism, a more devoted love for the Constitution and the Union, an intenser hatred of sectionalists and agitators, than lived and burned in that vast concourse of citizens. They caught and applauded ideas before they were half out of the speakers' mouths. No *claquer* was needed to give the signal from the stage or other conspicuous part of the house. There was no little picked chorus about the speakers' stand, to do the plaudits of the evening. At the talismanic words, "Union," "Constitution," "Fraternity," "Justice to the South," at every expression of love for our common country, and for our Southern brethren, there was a spontaneous burst of applause all over the house, breaking out in the parquette, the boxes, family circle, and the amphitheatre at the same moment, leaping from six thousand throats in one vast volume of sound. Of all the excellent sentiments that received the immediate and unanimous approval of this great popular tribunal, none were more enthusiastically applauded than those in which the tribe of Abolition preachers were rebuked and denounced. The cheers at these points were always fierce and protracted, indicating beyond a doubt the deep hatred and disgust with which the preachers of a political gospel are regarded by the intelligent, industrious, law-abiding masses of the people—such people as were packed into the Academy of Music on Monday night. It would appear from the evidence on that occasion that, outside of the fanatical congregations which these preachers of the "Sharpe's rifle" school have collected about them, the "Cheevers," the "Beechers," and the humbler specimens of their class, are justly despised and execrated. The strong, healthy, well-regulated public mind rejects and resents the

monstrous teachings of such men. Instead of making converts to their atrocious theories in this most conservative city, they are building up, day by day, an indignant opposition to them and their churches.

From the Weekly Day-Book, 24th Dec., 1859.

The Great Meeting at the Academy of Music.—The meeting at the Academy of Music, last Monday evening, was one of the largest, most important, and in its consequences, perhaps, will have a greater effect upon the politics of this country than any public meeting held in the North for a quarter of a century. When this meeting was started under a different call than that first issued, we feared it might result only in the old stereotyped expression of attachment to the Union and the Constitution. In such an event it could have done no good, for the time has arrived in our history when every man must tell just what he means by upholding the Constitution. We are, however, most agreeably disappointed in the result; for while the preamble and resolutions do not, in all respects, meet the requirements of the case, the opening and leading speech of the evening, by Charles O'Conor, Esq., does. With a boldness and honesty which places this gentleman far in advance of any public man at the North, he has taken hold of this "slavery" question in the only effectual way. He has throttled the vile monster of Abolitionism in its very den and with the weapons of truth, philosophy, and justice has denied the very fundamental heresies of the delusion. This is what has long been needed at the North. It was imperative that some man of position, of great reputation, and of unsullied patriotism should head this movement. Charles O'Conor has shown himself to be that man, and his telling speech of last Monday evening will reverberate to the very remotest corners of this wide confederacy. Here is a Northern man that dares to openly defend and uphold negro "slavery" as it exists at the South—who claims that the negro race neither is nor can be the equal of the white race—who declares that its subordinate position is the one Nature intended it to occupy, and that this is not opposed to "the higher

law," but in exact accordance with it. For this doctrine this journal has been long contending; and it was with emotions of pleasure, which can not be expressed in words, that we heard these sentiments last Monday evening indorsed in the Academy of Music by six thousand of our fellow-citizens. When Mr. O'Conor first announced that he believed negro "slavery" just and right, hisses arose from nearly all quarters of the house, and for a moment we trembled lest the mighty truths he was uttering were falling upon a generation not prepared to receive them; but this doubt existed only for a moment, for cheer after cheer—three times three, in fact—reverberated through the noble and spacious building, until all opposition was drowned. Nothing was left but a spontaneous burst of enthusiasm for the bold speaker who thus dared to face, what it has been presumed was public opinion, but which, as we have often contended, is not the case. It only needed a bold man, a true man, a patriotic man to stem this tide of Abolition delusion. Charles O'Conor has done it. Without his speech, the meeting would have been a failure. Mr. Hunt's remarks were well enough in their way, and if delivered ten years since, would have been very good. Mr. Thayer's speech was eloquent and full of good points, but still, when analyzed, it lacked the kernel necessary to give it vitality. Gen. Dix's speech was excellent, but not in all respects sternly to the point. Prof Mitchell's remarks were simply ridiculous and absurd, and we wonder why the Committee should have invited such a man to have anything to say. Rev. Mr. Bethune's closing address was telling and to the point. He is a glorious specimen of the true Christian minister, and though the hour was late when he spoke, the audience listened to him with rapturous attention. On the whole, the meeting was a great and glorious success. The speech of Mr. O'Conor will give tone to the entire affair, and it may be mentioned that while none of the speakers came up to Mr. O'Conor in boldness and philosophy, yet there was not a whine uttered by any one about the evils of "slavery," or a hope expressed that it would be done away with. We ask our readers, North and South, who know how we have labored to see this day, whether there is not hope and encouragement in this meeting to every faint-hearted, doubting friend of truth, that public opinion at the North can yet be changed, and Abolitionism forever driven from our soil?

My '13

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

CONNECTED WITH

The Great Union Meeting

HELD AT THE

ACADEMY OF MUSIC,

IN THE

CITY OF NEW-YORK,

December 19, 1859.

New-York:
DAVIES & ROBERTS,
113 NASSAU STREET.

1859.

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